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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

BY-GONES.

BY RUTH HARPER.

Come with me to the mossy seat
Where once, in years gone by,
We sate, and watched the sunset fade
From out the summer sky.

The stars came flashing, one by one,
Forth from the deepening blue;
The air was fragrant with the breath
Of wild flowers, wet with dew.

The fire-flies gleamed athwart the shade,
The river wandered by,
And from the larch-boughs overhead
Came sweetest minstrelsy.

And there, while love from all things breathed,
Beneath, around, above,
There, in the fragrant summer night,
I told to thee my love.

I told thee of my boyhood's blight,
My manhood's hopes and fears,
And thou, the one bright star, whose light
Shone on those stormy years.

Passion swept through me, like the breeze
Yon aspen bough that stirred;
I clasped thy trembling hand in mine—
I prayed for but one word.

No word there came; and love like mine,
The measureless, was vain!
No word; and then upon my hand
The warm drops fell like rain.

Heart clasped to heart; I kissed the tears
From off thine angel face;
All bliss of earth, all bliss of heaven,
Met in that one embrace.

For the National Era.

A DECADE OF THE SLAVE POWER.

"THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION, AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY, THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

No. 6.

The House of Representatives of the Thirtieth Congress, elected in the midst of the agitation created by the annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico, was composed of uncommonly good materials. The leaders of the Whig party, especially, whatever might be their own secret inclinations, had found it necessary to yield to the honest feeling of their associates; and many Northern districts had sent Representatives intelligent and resolute upon the great question. The Oligarchy, fearful of the action of a House so constituted, knew perfectly well that there was one way, effectual above all others, to disarm it. There is scarcely any office—the Presidency itself is hardly an exception—about which the Pro-Slavery politicians have always been so solicitous, as that of the Speakership of the House. And reasonably. If it would be too much to say that a skillful Speaker does with the House almost as he will, certain it is that he exerts a most important control over its proceedings. He biases, or, it may be, corrupts members, by his distribution of the distinctions at his disposal. The direction which it is his prerogative to give to the forms of business, including his decision of questions of order, amounts often to nothing less than the determination of the fate of a measure. Of still higher practical importance *even* than this, is his function of appointing the Committees, to whose management and disposal all matters are referred in their first stage. If it was unavoidable for Committees to mature and report some action on questions submitted to them, their power in determining *the* character of that action would still be immense. But they have another power, which, for many purposes, is absolute and final. By abstaining from making any report upon a question, they withhold it from the consideration of the House, and effectually smother it to death.

In the sensitive state of feeling at that time prevailing at the North, to soothe and beguile that section, by taking the Speaker from it, was the obvious policy of the Slave Power, provided a Northern Representative could be found sufficiently in harmony with its views, and of a capacity which could be depended on to carry them out. As a compliment, the place was first offered, by a vote in caucus, to Mr. Vinton, of Ohio, an eminent Representative in former Congresses. He declined it, as it was understood that he would do. His voice and health were feeble, and he had had no practice to give him special aptitude for presiding. Mr. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, who, for some time before, had been looked to as the real candidate, was then designated as such by a majority of votes over Mr. Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, whose claims were favored by the Anti-Slavery portion of the party.* Mr. Winthrop's general course in Congress, and particularly his recent action in respect to the annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico, (as to which latter measure he had separated himself from every other member of the Massachusetts delegation, of any note,) had convinced his Pro-Slavery fellow-Whigs that their concerns would be sufficiently safe in his hands, and that, as things stood, they could do no better; and, with the aid of some of their sympathizers from the North, they secured to him the nomination of their party, which was supposed to be equivalent to an election, the party having two or three majority in the House.

Three members disappointed those who had expected them to give their votes to Mr. Winthrop—Mr. Giddings, Mr. Tuck, of New Hampshire, and Mr. Palfrey, of Massachusetts. They had watched his course, and could not see it to be consistent with their personal honor, or their obligations to the country, to invest him with the power of the Speaker's chair. In a correspondence with one of them, before the election, he referred to his former votes and speeches as indicating the policy he should pursue. "My votes are on record," he said, "my speeches are in print." They well remembered both votes and speeches; the votes, for instance, for accommodating the Slave Power in the declaration and maintenance of the Mexican war; the speech, for instance, in the House, six weeks after the declaration of war, and the more recent one in Faneuil Hall, in which he had attempted to vindicate this conduct. At the first two trials, he failed of an election. As things stood, it was material to the Slave Power interest that he should be chosen; and accordingly, on the third trial, he was chosen by one majority, through the withdrawal of the votes of Mr. Holmes, of South Carolina, and Mr. Tompkins, of Mississippi, which had been given for other candidates.

Mr. Winthrop's course as Speaker confirmed all the apprehensions which had been entertained by the Anti-Slavery members. His Committees were constituted in a way to satisfy the dominant power. Those on Ways and Means and on Foreign Relations, with Mr. Vinton, of Ohio, and Mr. Smith, of Connecticut, at their head, made no movement to arrest the war. Mr. Ingersoll, of Philadelphia, and his colleagues on the Judiciary Committee, steadily and effectually buried out of sight the numerous petitions which had been referred to them for a repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, and for legal security to Northern citizens visiting Southern ports. The Committee on the Territories, of unsurpassed responsibility and importance under the circumstances, proved utterly inactive—through what force of previous engagements, or of surrounding influences, it would now be useless to inquire. It looked better than any other on paper; but, from the beginning to the end, the friends of Freedom looked as vainly as anxiously to it for something to indicate that it understood and felt its obligations. Its inaction placed the questions relating to the organization of Governments in Oregon, California, and New Mexico, at great disadvantage. Numerous petitions for the abolition of Slavery at the Seat of Government went to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and were never heard of more. The subject could not be got at by the House, because it was in Committee, and the Committee took care that it should not be got at through them. The business was thoroughly done, and it was done by hands which a Northern Speaker had empowered.

But there was another side to the history of the Thirtieth Congress. In the action not only of individual members, but of the House as a body, there were still occasional indications of a different temper. A motion by Mr. Giddings, to submit the question of emancipation in the District of Columbia to a vote of its adult male inhabitants, including slaves, though it failed, received 79 votes. Mr. Palfrey, of Massachusetts, asked leave to introduce a bill "to repeal all acts, or parts of acts, of Congress establishing or maintaining Slavery or the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia," and it was denied by a majority of only 82 to 69. By 117 votes against 72, the House refused to lay on the table a bill "to prohibit the introduction of Slaves into the District of Columbia as merchandise, or for sale or hire," and by 98 votes against 88, passed a resolution offered by Mr. Gott, of New York, which recited that the Slave Trade, as practiced in the District, was "contrary to natural justice and the fundamental principles of our own political system, notoriously a reproach to our country throughout Christendom, and a serious hindrance to the progress of Republican Liberty among the nations of the earth." But by a dexterous application of the Rules and Orders, under a decision of the Speaker, the latter measure, on a motion for reconsideration, was pushed on beyond the end of the session in the pile of unfinished business; and the other shared the same fate.

An important feature of the Thirtieth Congress was, that the question of the Slave Power usurpations was installed in both Houses as a recognised subject for free debate, to a degree unknown before. In the Senate, Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, lost no opportunity to bear wholesome and eloquent testimony against the overshadowing wrong and danger of the time. In the House, Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, presently after its organization, made a set speech on what he called "The Political Aspect of the Slave Question." His friends reproached him for imprudence, as having thrown down a gauntlet, which they could not with any decency refuse to allow to be taken up. He was answered by a Northern Representative, and the privilege and practice of debate on the subject have never since been obstructed.

The freedom of discussion, which in recent years had been so jealously restricted, was asserted and established, not long after, in another and scarcely less important form. Great excitement was produced at Washington, in the spring of 1848, by an abortive attempt of sixty or seventy slaves to escape from that place. It directed its senseless fury against the *National Era*, then recently established in the Federal city. During the nights of the 18th and 19th of April, a noisy mob threatened to destroy the printing office, and were with difficulty kept in check by the police. An insolent demand sent to the editor, that he should discontinue the publication, was treated by him as it deserved. On the morning of the 20th, Mr. Hale called the attention of the Senate to what was going on, by asking leave to introduce a "bill relating to riots and unlawful assemblies in the District of Columbia," and Mr. Palfrey, in the House, by moving for a Committee, with power to send for persons and papers, to inquire whether the privileges of the House had been invaded by threats uttered against Mr. Giddings. Sharp debates followed; and, though neither motion prevailed, the object was effectually carried. The matter was no sooner stirred in the Houses, stirring the whole country through the telegraph, than the President, too, began to bestir himself. There was no help for it. Orders were issued to the marines at the Navy Yard to be in readiness; the army of clerks were put in requisition by the heads of their departments; the many-headed did not show itself that night; nor from that night to this day has a mob menaced the freedom of the press at the seat of Government.

After a less than two years' desperate struggle, ruined Mexico was glad to get a peace on any terms. The war, according to a careful estimate, (Livermore's "War with Mexico," pp. 95, 114,) had cost twenty-five thousand lives, and two hundred millions of dollars on each side;* lives and money all squandered to glut the Slave Power's greedy spirit of aggrandizement. By the treaty of peace, Mexico yielded the fatal boon of 850,000 square miles of her territory; a country four times as large as France, and five times as large as Spain.

The Democratic and Whig Conventions for nominating the next President, met respectively in May and June of that year. The Slave Power had everything its own way in both. The former nominated General Cass, with a declaration of principles for his Administration thoroughly satisfactory to the Slavery Interest; the latter, General Taylor, without any such annunciation of policy; his position was thought a sufficient guaranty to the slaveholders, while silence was deemed the best expedient to obtain for him Northern support. Outraged at this proceeding, a sudden movement was made by friends of Freedom hitherto attached to both the old parties, which resulted in the nomination of Mr. Van Buren, at a Convention held at Buffalo the second week in August. They gave him 291,000 votes, more than one-tenth part of those of the whole country. In Massachusetts alone, nearly three-tenths of the voters, most of whom had been opposed to him in past times, but were won by his new profession of allegiance to Freedom, gave him their self-denying, but cordial support.

Fettered as it was, the function of the House of Representatives of the Thirtieth Congress is seen in the light of history to have been rather in the partial and temporary obstruction of mischief, than in the accomplishing of much positive good. In its first session, however, one gleam of hope broke through the surrounding gloom. The obstinacy of the House forced through a reluctant Senate a bill constituting a Territorial Government for Oregon, with the prohibition of Slavery attached; and in the critical state of affairs, Mr. Polk was fain to find reasons for giving it his unwilling signature. The great struggle on that question was nearly simultaneous with the meeting of the Buffalo Convention, and the serious news brought by every day's mail and telegraph, of that marvellous rising at the North, had a salutary effect on the minds of Northern members of both the great parties. The worst of the alarm had passed away when the Congress met for its second session, after the election of General Taylor had been secured; but still enough of it remained to have an influence in the disposal of the questions which arose respecting the organization of provisional Governments for New Mexico and California; and after escaping almost by miracle the immediate accomplishment of the Slave Power designs upon those regions, artfully and pertinaciously urged by the Senate to the last, the Congress adjourned after sunrise on the fourth of March, 1849, the last day of its constitutional term, leaving those questions open for future intrigue on the one part, and patriotic solicitude and exertion on the other.

* "The Southern Whigs, opposed to the Wilmot Proviso, nominated Mr. Winthrop in caucus, in opposition to a majority of the Northern Whigs, who were in favor of the Wilmot Proviso, and who opposed the nomination of Mr. Winthrop."—*Letter of I. E. Holmes, Representative from South Carolina, published in the Charleston Mercury.*

* In a speech made early in the war, Mr. Webster said that it was costing us half a million of dollars a day. But this may pass for one of his extravagances.

For the National Era.

THE BROTHERS.

BY E. D. E. N. SOUTHWORTH.

CHAPTER V.

"Judge not; the workings of his brain
And of his heart thou canst not see;
What looks to thy dim eyes a stain,
In God's pure light may only be
A scar brought from some well-fought field,
Where thou wouldst only faint and yield.

"The look, the air that frets thy sight,
May be a token that below,
The soul has closed in deadly fight
With some internal fiery foe,
Whose glance would scorch thy smiling grace,
And cast thee, shuddering, on thy face."

It had been arranged, as the best plan for all parties, under present circumstances, that Fannie should retain her situation as shop-woman at Leroux's hair-dressing and fancy store, where they were anxious to keep her as long as possible. With Valentine's hundred dollars, and fifty dollars that had been made in overwork by Phædra, a room was taken in M——, and neatly furnished. And there Valentine and Fannie went to housekeeping, after this fashion: Fannie, still tending Leroux's shop all day, ate and slept at home, where Valentine visited her once a week, or oftener, whenever he could do so.

In the mean time, as winter advanced, Mr. Waring's health was fully re-established; and, as many of his favorite boon companions, who had been absent on their summer tours, returned to the neighborhood, Oswald began to resume his former habits of extravagant and reckless dissipation. Deer-hunting, coursing, partridge-shooting, and other field sports, occupied the mornings; and dinner-parties, oyster-suppers, and other entertainments, accompanied and followed by wine-drinking, song-singing, card-playing, and similar orgies, at home or abroad, filled up the afternoons and evenings.

Again were Valentine's services brought into requisition three or four nights of every week, to drive his master to the city at *dusk*, and home again at *dawn*. Upon these occasions, Valentine would drive Mr. Waring first to the club-house, restaurant, or billiard-saloon, that happened to be his destination for the evening, set him down, take the carriage and horses to the livery-stable, leave them, and then go to Leroux's, and stay with Fannie until the hour of closing the store arrived, when he would take her home.

Valentine, from his "gentlemanly" appearance, dress, and *address*, as well as from his perfectly trustworthy character, was not an unwelcome visiter at the store, where, behind the counter, and by the side of Fannie, he made himself so useful, that Monsieur Leroux would often speculate as to the possibility of getting him for an assistant. This also was Valentine's and Fannie's great ambition; but it was a vain one, for his personal attendance was considered indispensable to his master's comfort.

Valentine's standing order, upon these occasions of their night visits to the town, was to be in waiting with the carriage for Mr. Waring at twelve o'clock. And the man was obliged to be punctual, though he had often to wait two or three hours for the coming of the master. And, as a general fact, the longer Mr. Waring remained among his boon companions, the more intoxicated he became; and, when at last he appeared, all the old humiliations and provocations of Valentine's former days were renewed. You know what these were. It would be vain repetition to describe them again.

All this was, in every respect, very trying to the poor boy. He religiously adhered to his resolution of abstinence from all spirituous liquors, and constantly and prayerfully struggled against the ebullitions of his own impetuous temper. But the life he led acted nearly fatally upon a very fragile organization; and *all* individuals of antagonistically mixed races are known to be frail. The continued loss of rest, habitual irregularity in food and sleep, affectionate anxiety upon account of his master, tender solicitude for his own gentle, little wife, frequent and excessive provocation from Oswald, all combined to wear and fret his originally excitable temperament to a state of unnatural nervous irritability, that could scarcely sustain with calmness the rudeness of the shocks to which, in his false position, he was constantly exposed; and therefore he was very frequently—to use his own expression at the "love feasts"—in great danger of falling from grace.

Reflecting upon this portion of the poor, doomed boy's life; recollecting the great, the almost superhuman struggle his spirit was making against the terrible, combined powers of evil; of his discordant organization; his fiery, impulsive temperament; his unfortunate education; his unhappy position, and his exasperating surroundings, all antagonistic, false, and fateful—we find his parallel nowhere in modern times, and are forced to think of the age of antiquity, and of those mighty but ineffectual struggles of some fore-doomed mortal, like Œpidus, in the power of the angry Fates.

Upon poor Valentine's silent, deadly struggle, none but the pitying eye of our Father looked. And nothing but a miracle could have averted its final and fatal issue; and miracles are not wrought at the expense of moral, free agency. There came at last a day—an awful day—when the boy spoke, and others heard, of that fell struggle with the powers of darkness.

But we anticipate. The dark and trying seasons were relieved by brighter ones, alternating like night and day.

The hours spent with Fannie, either in the gay, lighted shop, among a thousand objects of taste and beauty, and occupations shared with her, and congenial to his own æsthetic fancy, or in their little home, that, despite of poverty, Fannie's taste had made beautiful, were seasons of unclouded happiness, in which all care was forgotten.

There were sunny hours, also, when Mr. Waring's better nature was in the ascendant; when he would feel like gratifying his own benevolence, and making Valentine happy, by fair promises of making him free; of setting him and Fannie up in the hair-dressing and fancy business, which he would laughingly declare to be exactly suited to Valentine; that Val. could be the barber, and Fan. the ladies' hair-dresser; and that they could have a nice little house in an eligible street, with the dwelling above, and the shop below. Thus he would talk, indulging his good humor at the small expense of his breath, and amusing himself with noticing the effect of his words upon Valentine's sensitive nature, playing upon its chords of hope and fear, as if his heart had been a harp, and his *own* the experimenting hand that tried its strings. Perhaps he intended to realize, at some future day, these expectations that he raised; at least, at the time of speaking, he wished to please the boy by infusing a hope; but, alas! he only disturbed him, by exciting and aggravating his old passionate aspiration after liberty.

But, besides those happiest hours spent with Fannie, there were other seasons of forgetfulness, and of almost unalloyed bliss. These were the Sabbath services and the weekly meetings, where the ardent, zealous soul of the young man found its expression in eloquence that reached the hearts of all who heard him, either in exhortation or in prayer. He was very much beloved by the brethren, and especially by the sisters, of the Magnolia Grove Mission. There was, however, two or three among the class-leaders who objected to Valentine, as being too much given to the vanities of this world, and who found great stumbling blocks in Valley's shining, black ringlets, and neat and even elegant dress. But as the fiend really did contrive to find his way into sinless Eden, so jealousy might possibly have crept into a "love feast" among Christian brethren and sisters; and Valentine's beauty, grace, eloquence, and consequent pre-eminence, among the men, and popularity with the women, might have been the true ground of offence to his less-gifted brothers.

However that might be, Valentine, perceiving only the ostensible matter of complaint, half resolved to give up his taste in dress, and sacrifice his cherished ringlets, and seriously consulted Fannie upon the subject.

But Fannie would not listen to such a proposition with a moment's favor, and said that brother 'Lisha and some of the others had such a grudge against beauty, that they would turn all the Lord's fair roses and lilies into lobelia and rue, if they could. And Fannie's single opinion and vote out weighed all the others, and Valentine's hyperion curls continued to be an offence in Israel.

Thus passed the winter and spring. This first half year, with all its shadows, was yet the fairest portion of the young pair's married life. Towards its close, clouds began to gather darkly and threateningly over their heads.

In the early part of summer, Fannie was necessitated to give up her situation at Leroux's, and confine herself to such work as she could perform in the privacy of her own room, such fine sewing and fancy work, which was not very lucrative; but even this resource in the course of a few weeks had to be abandoned, for Fannie was unusually delicate, and sadly needed rest, and some one to take care of her for a while. And just about this time, late in July, Mr. Waring made up his mind to go to the North, and spend the remainder of the summer in a tour among the fashionable watering-places. Of course, he designed to take his servant with him. In vain Valentine, hoping in the proverbial "good nature" of his master, proffered his earnest request to be left behind, urging the state of Fannie's health as the reason.

"Pooh, pooh, nonsense!" Mr. Waring could not spare the servant that was used to his ways. Fannie must do without her husband, and take her chance, as all those of her class had to do. Surely she must have known what she had to expect when she married a slave man. "And now, Valentine, don't bore me any longer with the subject. You were a great fool to get married at all; and if you trouble me further, you will make me regret ever having given my consent to that foolish measure," concluded Mr. Waring.

Valentine controlled his own rebellious emotions, and leaving Fannie as comfortable as under the circumstances he could make her, accompanied his master to the North.

They visited first the Virginia Springs, then Niagara, Saratoga, Nahant, and returning at the end of three months, reached home.

In close attendance upon his master, Valentine was obliged to pass through M—— without stopping to see his wife. But the next day, at his first disengaged hour, he set out for the city, where he found Fannie, the mother of a little girl of six weeks of age, and reinstated in her former position at Leroux's. Fannie was very happy, and gave a cheering account of all that had occurred. Everybody had been very kind to her; the sisters of the church had visited her often; Phædra had been with her, and Madame Leroux had made her many presents. All this relieved and delighted the youthful husband and father; and when he pressed his infant daughter to his bosom, he wept tears of joy at the thought that her mother's heritage of freedom would be hers.

Some peaceful days followed this, in which Valentine, oblivious of every cause of disquietude, enjoyed the perfection of domestic happiness. Then, early in November, Mr. Waring determined to go to New Orleans, to prosecute his acquaintance with a young widow, a native and resident of that city, whom he had met at Saratoga, and with whom he had been very much pleased. His servant was of course required to attend him, and upon this occasion Valentine obeyed, without a single demur.

On reaching New Orleans, Mr. Waring took rooms at the St. Charles Hotel. Apparently his suit prospered, for their stay in that city was prolonged through November and December. And Valentine had no opportunity of visiting his girlish wife until after the new year.

Then Mr. Waring hastily, and in the highest spirits, returned home, to settle up certain necessary business with his lawyer, appertaining to troublesome creditors, and give some commendable directions to his housekeeper, touching the re-arrangement of his disorderly bachelor's hall. This occupied two or three weeks, during which time Valentine, when not in close attendance upon Mr. Waring, found opportunities to visit his beloved Fannie, and caress the infant, of whom he was dotingly fond.

The first of February, Mr. Waring went again to New Orleans, to meet his engagement with Madame Moriere, his promised bride. Their marriage was arranged to take place immediately, to save the delay of the seven weeks of Lent, just at hand, and during which no strict Catholic, such as Madame professed to be, would dare to enter into the "holy state" of matrimony. Immediately after the ceremony, the newly married couple set out on a bridal tour. Mr. Waring was attended by his favorite servant, and Madame by her maid, a French grisette, who "made eyes" at Valentine, and otherwise harassed him with her coquetries, during the whole journey. And this conduct of Finette first suggested to Valentine's mind the probability that, during his own enforced, long, and frequent absences from home, some one as unprincipled as Finette might be making love to his own pretty Fannie, unprotected and exposed as she was in that French hair-dressing establishment. Valentine might have been sure of that; but Fannie, with her wise and affectionate consideration for him, had never troubled the transient happiness of his sojourn with her, by any histories of the petty vexations that disturbed her own life during his absence. Besides, Fannie, with all her innocence, was city bred, full of experience and the wisdom it gives, and quite capable of taking care of herself. And Valentine never would have dreamed of the possibility of such annoyances for her, had not the behaviour of Mademoiselle Finette made the suggestion. And now the thought gave his excitable heart a great deal of disturbance, and made him very anxious to return home. Of course, Valentine's impatience did not expedite that desired event.

The bridal party were absent six weeks, and finally reached home about the middle of April—a most enchanting season in that climate, corresponding in its advanced state of vegetation with our June, but much more beautiful in the luxuriance and variety of its trees, shrubs, vines, fruits and flowers, than any season in our latitude. The Red Hill mansion was very lovely in its grove of magnolias. The internal arrangement of the house reflected great credit upon Phædra; and Madame condescended to express much satisfaction with her new home and her good housekeeper.

Upon all former occasions, Valentine had been in too much requisition, when they passed through M——, on their way home, to stop and see Fannie; but the next morning Mr. Waring dispatched him to the city, to attend to the careful packing and sending out some baggage that had been left, of necessity, the evening before, at the hotel. And Valentine availed of that opportunity to visit his small family. He found Fannie as pretty and as glad to see him as always, and his little darling Coralie, now seven months old, more beautiful and attractive than ever; but he would not linger with them long; his duties to his master obliged him, in less than an hour, to tear himself away again, and hasten with Madame's trunks and boxes to Red Hill. The necessity of leaving his treasures so soon again, after so long an absence, depressed Valentine so much, that Fannie hastened to console and cheer him. He was not, after all, more unfortunate in that respect, she said, than sailors and soldiers were, nor was she more to be pitied than their wives. And she sent him off, comforted with the promise that she would get leave from Leroux, and come out the next morning with her baby, to spend the day with Phædra, at Red Hill. Fannie kept her word, and, during her visit the next day, won her way so well into the good graces of Madame, that that lady expressed a kind interest in her and her little child, made them some pretty presents, and promised to facilitate as much as possible the frequent visits of Valentine to his wife and child. And the lady remembered and performed her promise so well, that unusual indulgence was extended to Valentine, who was by her intercession enabled to pass every night with his family.

Mr. Waring, in his attachment to his bride, seemed for the time quite won from the extravagance and dissipation of his late bachelor life. He remained at home, and addressed himself with commendable zeal to the management of his plantation, to the improvement of his land, his stock, his machinery, and agricultural system in general, and also, after his own blundering fashion, to the amelioration, comfort, and welfare, of his people.

Valentine, no longer distressed *for* or *by* his master, divided his attention between the manifold light duties that occupied him all day at Red Hill, and the evenings spent in assisting Fannie in her business behind the counter of Leroux's shop, and for which he now received a regular payment, in consideration of the fact that he stood at the post and performed the duties of Monsieur Leroux, whose age obliged him to leave the shop at an early hour of the evening, just as the custom was beginning to grow brisk. Thus they were enabled to add many little comforts to their humble home, and also to lay up a trifle against the chance of darker days.

Every alternate Sabbath they attended meeting together at Magnolia Grove, and afterwards dined with Phædra at Red Hill, and went home at night; and, on the intervening Sabbath, when there was no service at the Grove Mission, Phædra would come into town, and go to church with the children at the Bethel (colored) Mission of M——, and afterwards take dinner with them, before returning home in the evening.

Thus passed the halcyon days of spring, preceding the awful moral storm which ended in that "household wreck."

SCANDINAVIAN AFFAIRS.

To the Editor of the National Era:

It seems now very probable that France and England can hardly compel Russia to submit to peace upon admissible conditions, except by the aid of the Scandinavian Kingdoms. But it is evident that this desirable object cannot be obtained by the means of such insulting articles as those which have lately appeared in the London *Examiner*, and which seem to have been dictated by folly, the offspring of ignorance and arrogance.

The Scandinavians may, comparatively speaking, be called poor. Still, I venture to assert, that there exists among them more general happiness and contentment than among the majority of the English people; and let it be remembered that no foreign conqueror ever lorded over Scandinavia, while, on the contrary, England has often been forced to obey the dictates of victorious foreign chieftains. If the *Examiner* had remembered these historical truths, it would probably have used a more becoming language.

The Scandinavians, therefore, having hitherto been able to defend their independence, without the aid of foreign Powers, might reasonably hope to do the same for the future, by the help of God, and by their brave valor alone. Consequently, they are certainly not to be intimidated by any prospective dread of Prussia into an alliance with the Western Powers; nor is it to be presumed that any amount of money could purchase their co-operation with France and England, unless feeling convinced of the equity, and even imperative duty, of assisting them in humbling the pride and weakening the power of the would-be arbiter of Europe. But their innate hatred of despotism and their strong sense of equity make the Scandinavians generally feel very hostile against Russia, on account of its unwarrantable attack upon Turkey, its treatment of the gallant Poles, and its arrogant and domineering aspirations. Still it would be rash to assert that the Norwegians and Danes are inclined for an alliance with the Western Powers; but though the majority of them might prefer the continuance of the present state of neutrality, it may safely be presumed that both these nations will readily follow the course which Sweden might choose to pursue.

As to the Swedes, I have no hesitation in affirming that they have *not* forgotten, and *never* will forget, until duly avenged, the many wrongs which the House of Romanoff has, by stealth and treachery, inflicted upon them. Consequently, that warlike people is panting for the opportunity of meeting the Russians in a fair fight, and restoring liberty to Finland—dear to them by so many glorious memories and so many affectionate connections—which became subject to the Czar, in consequence of the treason of the Governor of Sweaborg, (the Count Cronstadt,) and of the inability of Gustavus IV, Adolphus, and of the pusillanimity of Charles XIII; but not on account of any want of patriotism or prowess, on the part of that little valiant army, that so long and so gloriously defended every inch of Finland against the numerous host of the Emperor Alexander, who, in violation of every principle of honor and equity, had unawares seized upon the brightest jewel in the crown of a near relative, with whom he had shortly before been in the closest alliance, and who had done nothing that could justify his hostility. Indeed, the invasion of Finland was a still more unjustifiable act than even the infamous division of Poland.

It would therefore be contrary to human nature, if the Swedes, without due amends, should forgive so flagrant a breach of public morality, and so mean an act; and as no kind of reparation has as yet been offered by the Russian Czar, he cannot and does not expect but the Swedes, whenever they shall get a fair opportunity, will make an attempt at chastising him, by retaking what duly belongs to them. In fact, there exists no peace, but only a hollow truce, between Russia and Sweden. To admit anything else, would be to concede that a thief can, by prescription, become the lawful possessor of property which he has stolen.

In intrusting to General Canrobert the mission to Sweden, the Emperor of France showed his usual sagacity, because no other person would have been so well qualified as that illustrious warrior to elicit an expression of the popular feeling in Sweden. If there was, before the arrival of General Canrobert, any doubt on the mind of King Oscar, as to the course which the Swedes wished him to pursue at the present moment, that doubt must certainly have been removed by the reception which the nation awarded to the French "ambassador extraordinary," in whom the Swedes admired the hero who had won immortal glory in fighting their hereditary enemies. In his presence, they gave way to the impulse of their feelings, and manifested most clearly their ardent wishes for an active participation in a war conducted for no mean purposes, but for the praiseworthy object of vindicating the cause of justice, and humbling and weakening a Power that has for more than a century been animated with the criminal aspiration to reduce free nations to abject slavery.

It cannot be reasonably expected that King Oscar shall share in the hatred which the Swedish nation feel against Russia. He does not, except by adoption, belong to that illustrious native family, who, inheriting the spirit of the Great *Vasa*, shed so much lustre on Sweden, by their victories over the despots of Austria and Russia, and none of whom, except perhaps the last one, would have remained so long an inactive spectator of the struggle in the Baltic, between the hostile forces of Russia and the Western Powers.

But though King Oscar cannot be supposed to share in the hostile sentiments of the Swedish nation against Russia and the House of Romanoff, that have done neither himself nor his valiant father any personal wrongs, still it would certainly be very unjust to charge him with indifference to the many injuries offered by the Czars to Sweden. But, being very little ambitious, as it would appear, of military glory, and rather animated by the praiseworthy desire of promoting, by peaceful means, the welfare of the nations over whose affairs he presides, he has been anxious to maintain neutrality, and thus preserve Sweden and Norway from the calamities of war. Convinced, however, as he now appears to be, of the general desire among the Swedes to participate in the present great struggle, we may rest assured that he will act agreeably to this impulse, as soon as he shall be offered guaranties which might, from a political point of view, justify such a step.

The treaty of the 21st of November, between Sweden and the Western Powers, though, on the whole, quite superfluous, might, however, be hailed as an advance in the right direction, and as showing Oscar's firm resolution to pursue henceforth a bolder and more national policy with regard to Russia. Indeed, the neutrality had become intolerable to the Swedes, and the King could not hope to maintain it without losing altogether the esteem of the nation.

The London *Examiner*, and journals like it, may underrate the aid of the Scandinavian kingdoms; but well-informed and unprejudiced persons will not hesitate in admitting that their co-operation with the Western Powers would, according to all probability, result in the decisive defeat and humiliation of Russia. Indeed, the fear of an approaching alliance, offensive and defensive, between Scandinavia and France and England, has impelled Austria and Prussia to new attempts at re-establishing peace between the belligerent parties.

It is to be observed that, though the Norwegians and Danes might prefer the maintenance of the neutrality, it might, however, be taken for granted that they will not; as, indeed, the former cannot, without breaking the union with Sweden, refuse to co-operate with the Swedes in a war against Russia.

Let, next spring, a landing be effected in Finland, or somewhere else in the Baltic possessions of Russia, by one hundred thousand French and twenty thousand English soldiers, under the command of the Emperor of France in person, or of General Canrobert, and by eighty thousand Scandinavians, headed by the Crown Prince of Sweden; and let a naval armament, on the plan and under the leadership of Sir Charles Napier, or some other experienced admiral, be collected in the Baltic, to co-operate with the above-mentioned land forces; and let, moreover, an allied reserve corps of at least fifty thousand men be stationed on the isle of Gothland—and there can be but very little doubt that, before the next winter sets in, the fortresses of Sweaborg and Cronstadt shall have been reduced, the Russian fleet in the Baltic have ceased to exist, and the whole of Finland be in the possession of the allies. These hopes may appear extravagant, but I dare, nevertheless, to assert that there is every probability that they will be realized, if pusillanimous counsels do not get the better of energy and ability.

There might be persons who will insist upon the impossibility of the Scandinavian countries raising so numerous a force as eighty thousand soldiers; but such persons must either be ignorant of the real state of affairs in Scandinavia, or entertain an unjust opinion of the abilities of the personages that direct the affairs of the Scandinavian kingdoms.

It has been stated in some of the German papers, evidently wedded to the interests of Russia, that the inhabitants of Finland are very much attached to the Russian rule; but though this statement may be true with regard to the office-holders and some of those engaged in commercial pursuits, it is altogether false as to the great majority of the Finnish nation, who, no doubt, would with the utmost joy hail the sight of the beloved colors of Sweden, and soon hasten to arms, in order to give an effectual aid in avenging the stealthy manner in which their native country, more than forty-four years ago, became the booty of Russia.

As no person puts the least confidence in the rumors of peace that are circulating, all Europe expects that, during the ensuing summer, great things will be performed in the Baltic; and so they will, unless the Governments of France and England are not, though from very different reasons, both equally averse to inflict a fatal blow upon Russia in that quarter. The *reason* now alluded to, I deem prudent *at present not to explain*, but will *certainly* do so, should the Western Powers send, at the beginning of the spring, nothing but a naval armament to the Baltic. DIOGENES.

Scandinavia, Jan. 16, 1856.

KNOW NOTHING NATIONAL CONVENTION.

We had room last week to notice only the result of the last day's proceedings of the National Know Nothing Convention. The report that a secession of the Southern members had taken place on Saturday, was untrue. A few retired, for the purpose of intimidating the Northern men, and bringing them to terms. The thing succeeded. The ardor of the North cooled off, and Monday, 25th, the Convention (Northern and Southern members) met, the majority having decided to do just what the Slave Power demanded.

Mr. Small, of Pennsylvania, insisted upon his resolutions, but at last accepted the following substitute, suggested by Mr. Killinger, of Pennsylvania:

Resolved, That the National American Convention has no authority to prescribe a platform of principles for this Convention, and that we will nominate for President and Vice President no man who is not in favor of interdicting the introduction of Slavery into territory north of 36° 30′.

Mr. Haven, of New York, moved to lay the resolution on the table, and the motion being considered a test of the relative strength of the Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery sections, members were at special pains to assign their reasons, when their names were called.

The vote on laying on the table was then announced, as follows—yeas 141, nays 60. The result was received with applause and loud cheers.

YEAS.

New Hampshire—Long and Ayer.
New Jersey—Allen, Lyon, Ott, Grandin, Connell, Weeks.
Indiana—Sheets, Phelps, Bowen.
Virginia—Imboden, Bolling, Andrews, Rudd, Maussin, Lockhead, Moore, Cochran, President, Boteler, Webb, Kramer, Stewart, McCue, and Fitch.
Michigan—Lyon, Fuller, Wood, Hamilton, Medler.
Tennessee—Nelson, Donelson, Campbell, Brownlow, Pickett, Burton, Bilbo, Zollicoffer, Belvate, Bankhead, and Ready.
Wisconsin—Lockwood, Gillies, Cook, Chandler.
Texas—Mr. Sanfily.
California—Wood, Brooks, and McDonald.
Delaware—Norris, Springler, and Murdick.
Maryland—Kennedy, Dennis, Dukeheart, Pinkney, Dutton, Schley, Purnell, Dallam, and Ricaud.
Kentucky—Bartlett, Todd, Carpenter, Rogers, Raphael, Clay, Thompson, Goodloe, Chambers, Shanklin, Gist, and Jones.
North Carolina—Horton, Buxton, Pool, Baker, Cradup, Hudam, and Rodman.
Louisiana—Mr. Elam.
Missouri—Fletcher, Breckenridge, Edwards, Bell, Hockaday, and Ewing.
Ohio—Hall, Lippitt, White, Lifford, Simpson, Harris, and Wells.
New York—Brooks, Scroggs, Fontaine, Guy, Toone, Beatty, Deane, Wagner, Bullock, Taylor, Clark, Whiston, Westbrook, Chandler, Wilbur, Adams, Russell, Campbell, Lowell, Johnson, Law, Savery, Lewis, Oakes, Paddock, Bennett, Ford, Murray, Spencer, Lord, Thompson, Stevens, Burrows, Haven, and Bolles.
Pennsylvania—Thorne, Hazlehurst, Bumm, Stillwell, Stewart, and Hetherington.
Arkansas—Logan and Fowler.
Illinois—Danenhower, Durham, and Allen.

NAYS.

Connecticut—Peck, Dunham, Griswold, Baldwin, Perkins, and Booth.
Massachusetts—Richmond, Allen, Trask, Sawin, Ely, Keith, Arnold, Robinson, Temple, Thurston, Hawkes, and Eames.
New Jersey—Mr. Marsh.
Rhode Island—Nightingale, Chase, Knight, and Simmons.
Mississippi—Lake and Adams.
Iowa—Webster and Clark.
Ohio—Baker, Mitchell, Nash, Fishback, Egbert, Olds, Gilmore, Stambaugh, Hedges, Alison, Nicolls, McClees, Sturtevant, and Chapman.
Pennsylvania—Gossler, Welbrom, Jones, Park, Goode, Evans, Killinger, Edie, Small, Stambaugh, Gernant, Williamson, Coffee, Sewall, Pomeroy, and Todd.
Illinois—Mr. Jennings.

ABSENT, OR NOT VOTING.

New Hampshire—Colby and Emory.
Massachusetts—Mr. Brewster.
New Jersey—Mr. Allen.
Indiana—Mr. Meredith.
Tennessee—Mr. Harris.
Wisconsin—Mr. Burdick.
Texas—Eperson, Evans, and Ochiltree.
California—Mr. Mathews.
Florida—Mr. Call.
Alabama—Walker and Smith.
Louisiana—Eustis, Ixada, Herman, Lewis, and Lathrop.
District of Columbia—Bradley and Osborn.
Ohio—Spooner and Ford.
Pennsylvania—Johnson, Campbell, and Riddle.

Yeas	141
Nays	60
Absent, or not voting	25

Mr. Brownlow offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention do proceed forthwith to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. [Loud applause, and cries of "that's it," "that's it."]

Mr. Brownlow then called the previous question on the resolution. The previous question was ordered.

Mr. Peck, of Conn., said that if the nomination was gone into now, his State would withdraw. [Cries of "Go," "go."]

Mr. Baldwin, of Conn., made a strong speech in opposition to the nomination proposed; it must throw a large portion of the North into the arms of the Republican party. He voted "No."

Amidst great confusion, members continued to explain their votes. The resolution was carried—yeas 151, nays 51. The announcement of the result was received with wild applause.

The Convention then proceeded to nominate persons for candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. Mr. A. Stewart, of Pa., nominated Millard Fillmore, of New York, for President. Mr. Sley, of Md., nominated W. R. Smith, of Alabama, for Vice President.

Mr. Perkins, of Conn., by leave, took the floor, and made a speech in favor of a repeal of the naturalization laws. He then referred to Kansas and Nebraska, and discussed what was to be done with them in the position in which they had been placed by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

Mr. Perkins concluded his remarks at a quarter past 2 o'clock, by announcing that Connecticut now retired, and by inviting those States who thought proper to meet them at 4 o'clock, at the Merchants' Hotel, to form a new platform. [All sorts of cries, groans, hisses, applause, &c., followed this announcement.]

The excitement is very great.

A number of propositions were offered, as to how the election should be proceeded with, but most of them were of so complicated a nature as not to be generally understood; and the Convention finally, after the most intense excitement had prevailed, agreed to a motion of Mr. Ely, to proceed to an informal vote for nomination, each member's name being called, and he voting for who he may please.

The vote was proceeded with, and the following is the result of the informal ballot:

Millard Fillmore, of New York	71
George Law, of New York	23
Judge McLean, of Ohio	7
R. F. Stockton, of New Jersey	8
Garrett Davis, of Kentucky	13
John Bell, of Tennessee	5
W. F. Johnston, of Pennsylvania	3
Erastus Brooks, of New York	1
Sam Houston, of Texas	6
Kenneth Rayner, of North Carolina	2
D. F. Campbell	1
John M. Clayton	1

Mississippi, which is represented by one delegate, refused to vote.

Gov. Johnston, of Pennsylvania, received 14 votes, but before the vote had closed he announced that he was not a candidate; whereupon, several members changed their votes for other parties.

In the afternoon, a farcical scene was enacted by Parson Brownlow and Ex-Governor Call. The Parson arose, and proposed to receive into the church Gen. Call of Florida, Percy Walker of Alabama, and all others who had been going astray.

Mr. Brownlow, amid great applause, advanced towards General Call, and embraced him.

The greatest merriment was occasioned by this fond embrace, and Mr. Brownlow took his seat, with his brow radiant with joy, amid the cheers of all present.

General Call said he had given his hand to his brother, and he now gave his heart to the Convention. He was truly happy to be enabled to return without the least inconsistency, and resume his seat, now that peace and harmony were restored. We are now a great American party, dedicated to our country, our whole country, and nothing but our whole country. After arriving at home, he could say that his brethren of the North had not, perhaps, granted all that he wished, but it was his fault, and not theirs. When he withdrew from the Convention, it was from a holy devotion to his country, and not through any angry feelings. He promised to uphold the candidate of the Convention, and, if necessary, to visit the hills and valleys of the North to promote his election.

The Convention then proceeded to nominate a candidate. We copy from the *New York Herald* a statement which will serve for purposes of reference:

The whole number of delegates elected to the Convention was two hundred and ninety-six, being one from each Congressional district, and two Senatorial delegates, or delegates at large, as they are termed, from each State, viz:

Delegates at large	62
District delegates	234
Whole number	296

When the Convention organized, it was found that some of the States were not represented. In fact, it was previously known that such would be the case, as the State Conventions of Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, and some others, instructed their delegates not to go to the Convention, they being in favor of a postponement of the nomination for President. Alabama was, however, represented. The number of delegates, therefore, present at the organization was only two hundred and nine. After the resolution, stating that no person should be nominated who was not in favor of the prohibition of Slavery north of 36° 30′, was laid upon the table, and another resolution, to proceed to the nomination of candidates, was adopted, a number of the Northern nigger-worshipping Seward delegates withdrew in a body, which reduced the number to one hundred and seventy-two.

It was then decided that a regular ballot for a candidate for President should be had, and that the whole two hundred and ninety-six votes should be cast. They failed, however, in securing the whole number, notwithstanding they gave the privilege to outsiders, who had not been elected delegates, as in the case of Walker of Alabama, to cast the entire vote of a State. The result on the first regular ballot was as follows:

Fillmore	116	Houston	7
Law	40	Rayner	7
Davis	22	Stockton	6
McLean	16		
Total vote			214

The above vote was cast by the following States:

Massachusetts—John McLean, 5 votes; Garrett Davis, 5 votes; Robert F. Stockton, 1 vote.
New Jersey—Robert F. Stockton, 5 votes; John McLean, 1 vote.
Rhode Island—Fillmore, 1 vote.
Virginia—Fillmore, 13 votes; Davis, 2 votes.
Michigan—George Law, 5 votes.
Tennessee—Fillmore, 7 votes; Davis, 3 votes.
Wisconsin—Law, 5 votes.
Texas—Fillmore, 4 votes; Houston, 2 votes.
Delaware—Fillmore, 3 votes.
California—Fillmore, 4 votes.
Florida—Fillmore, 3 votes.
Mississippi—Fillmore, 7 votes.
Maryland—Fillmore, 8 votes.
Kentucky—Davis, 11 votes.
North Carolina—Fillmore, 10 votes.
Alabama—Fillmore, 9 votes.
Indiana—Fillmore, 1 vote; McLean, 2 votes.
Missouri—Fillmore, 9 votes.
Ohio—Fillmore, 7 votes; McLean, 6 votes; Law, 10 votes.
New York—Fillmore, 10 votes; Law, 20 votes; Houston, 4 votes.
Pennsylvania—Fillmore, 14 votes; Rayner, 3 votes; McLean, 1 vote; Davis, 1 vote.
Arkansas—Fillmore, 4 votes.
Illinois—Rayner, 4 votes; Fillmore, 2 votes.

The States mentioned below, with the number of delegates to which they were entitled, were not represented in the Convention at the time the nominations were made:

Connecticut	6	New Hampshire	5
Georgia	10	Rhode Island	3
Iowa	4	South Carolina	8
Louisiana	6	Vermont	5
Maine	8		

After the vote had been taken by States, and it was ascertained that Fillmore had received a majority of the votes cast, and would therefore be the nominee of the Convention, a number of the delegations changed their votes, and swelled the whole number for Fillmore to one hundred and seventy-nine.

In the case of Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi—one delegate present—the full electoral vote was given; and we extract from the record the names of the persons actually present and voting:

FOR MILLARD FILLMORE.

Rhode Island—Mr. Knight.
New Jersey—Messrs. Allen, Lyons, Grandin, Connell, Marsh, Weeks. [Voted first for Stockton, but changed.]
Indiana—Mr. Phelps.
Virginia—Messrs. Imboden, Bolling, Andrews, Manssin, Lockhead, Budd, Moore, Cochran, Burton, Boteler, Webb, Kramer, Stewart, McCue, and Fitch. [Part of the delegation voted for Garrett Davis, but changed.]
Michigan—Messrs. Lyon, Fuller, Ward, Medler, and Hamilton. [Voted first for Law, and changed.]
Tennessee—Messrs. Nelson, Donelson, Campbell, Brownlow, Pickett, Burton, Harris, Zollicoffer, Belvate, Bankhead, and Ready. [Messrs. Pickett and Bankhead voted first for Davis, and Delvate for Houston.]
Wisconsin—Mr. Cook. [Changed from Law.]
Texas—Messrs. Epherson, Evans, Santley, and Ochiltree. [All changed from Houston.]
California—Messrs. Wood, Brooks, and McDonald.
Delaware—Messrs. Norris, Springler, and Murdick.
Florida—Mr. Call.
Mississippi—Messrs. Lake and Adams.
Maryland—Messrs. Kennedy, Pinkney, Dukeheart, Dutton, Schley, Purnell, Dallam, and Ricaud.
Kentucky—Messrs. Bartlett, Todd, Carpenter, Raphael, Rogers, Clay, Thompson, Goodloe, Chambers, and Jones. [All changed from Davis.]
North Carolina—Messrs. Horton, Buxton, Pool, Baker, Cradup, Hudam, and Rodiman.
Alabama—Messrs. Walker and Smith.
Louisiana—Mr. Herman.
Missouri—Messrs. Fletcher, Breckenridge, Edwards, Bell, Hockaday, and Ewing.
Ohio—The vote of this State was divided *pro rota*. On the informal ballot, Fillmore was named by Messrs. Hall, Lifford, and Lippitt.
New York—Messrs. Brooks, Fontaine, Guy, Beatty, Deane, (voted first for Houston,) Bullock, Taylor, Chandler, Wilbur, Adams, Savery, Murray, (changed from Houston,) Spencer, Lord, Thompson, Burrows, and Haven. [Messrs. Fontaine, Beatty, Ballock, and Taylor, voted first for Law, and changed.]
Pennsylvania—Messrs. Thorne, Hazlehurst, Bumm, Walburn, Goode, Gernant, Evans, Stillwell, Erwin, Small, Stambaugh, Stewart, and Hetherington.
Arkansas—Messrs. Logan and Fowler.
Illinois—Messrs. Durham and Allen.

FOR GEORGE LAW.

Ohio—Mr. White.
New York—Messrs. Scroggs, Toone, Wagner, Clark, Whiston, Russell, Campbell, Lowell, Johnson, Law, Lewis, Oakes, Bennett, Ford, and Stevens.

FOR GARRETT DAVIS.

Massachusetts—Messrs. Keith, Brewster, Arnold, Robinson, Temple, and Thurston.

FOR JOHN M'LEAN.

Massachusetts—Messrs. Richmond, Allen, Trask, Sarvin, and Hawkes.
Rhode Island—Mr. Simmons.
Indiana—Messrs. Meredith and Sheets.
Ohio—Mr. Hall.
Pennsylvania—Mr. Killinger.

FOR SAM HOUSTON.

New York—Messrs. Westbrook, Paddock, and Bolles.

FOR KENNETH RAYNER.

Pennsylvania—Messrs. Gossler, Park, Pomeroy, and Todd.
Massachusetts—Mr. Ely.
Wisconsin—Messrs. Lockwood, Chandler, Githes, and Burdick.
Illinois—Mr. Denenhower.

Thus we shall find the whole number of actual voters 172, of which Fillmore received, on the first vote before changing, 80; majority against Mr. Fillmore, of actual votes present, 12.

Mr. Fillmore received thirty-two of his votes from States that never gave anything but Democratic votes in the Electoral College; and had the rule been adopted of allowing only the delegates actually present to vote, Mr. Fillmore would not have been nominated, there being ninety-two votes against him.

Glorification speeches were made in abundance, and men were ready to blubber for joy.

The Convention then proceeded to ballot for a candidate for the Vice Presidency, which was attended with much excitement, and the frequent changes of votes created difficulty in making a correct record. The candidates at first voted for, were William R. Smith of Ala., Percy Walker of Ala., Andrew Jackson Donelson of Tenn., A. H. H. Stewart of Va., Henry J. Gardner of Mass., and Kenneth Rayner of N. C. But after the vote had been called, delegates from various States arose, and changed their votes in favor of Mr. Donelson. The result was announced as follows:

Percy Walker	8	And. J. Donelson	181
A. H. H. Stuart	2	Henry J. Gardner	12
Kenneth Rayner	8		

Mr. Donelson having received a majority of the votes for the Vice Presidency, was declared duly nominated for that position.

On motion, and amid much applause, the nomination was made unanimous.

A motion was made, and agreed to, that a committee of five be appointed to wait upon the nominees, and inform them of their selection; and Messrs. A. H. H. Stuart of Virginia,

Andrew Stewart of Penn., Erastus Brooks of New York, E. B. Bartlett of Ky., Wm. J. Eames of Mass., and the President of the Convention, were appointed a committee to perform the business.

Here cries for Major Donelson, the nominee for the Vice Presidency, were made, and that gentleman, coming forward, was received with cheers and applause.

Mr. Donelson said that he was exceedingly gratified at the honor conferred upon him, and begged leave to say that he accepted the nomination tendered with a proper sense of the feebleness of powers he possessed. But he hoped that he might hereafter do more than he had yet had an opportunity to perform to advance the cause in which all of those present felt so deep an interest. He had been chiefly known to the American people from his connection with General Jackson. From that great man he had learned the essential principles of Americanism. That man had uttered the sentiment which now met with such general sympathy—that America should become more Americanized. The speaker had been thirty years with General Jackson, and had speeches and letters from him by the thousand. In 1832, General Jackson had fought the enemies of the Union, in his own best style, which had utterly crushed for the time all ultraisms. The speaker said he was born in a Southern State. He was the owner of over 100 slaves. He loved the institutions of the South. But he owed a debt of gratitude to the people of the North. At the South, they claimed nothing that he would not willingly grant to the North, the East, and the West. Here Andrew Stewart arose and inquired, If Gen. Jackson were living now, where would he be? With what party would he harmonize? Mr. Donelson replied: With the American party. He never uttered a single word adverse to the principles we advocate. Aye, and not only he, but Clay and Webster, if living, would be with us, and sanction the great principles embodied in the American platform. He had been present during the sessions of the Convention, and when attempts had been made to disorganize the party, he had been reminded of an anecdote of General Jackson. On the morning of the battle of the 8th of January, a messenger came to General Jackson with the information that the Legislature was about to adjourn, for fear that the British would take the city. Tell Governor Claiborne, said Jackson, to blow it up. And so he (the speaker) would say with regard to the disorganizers, who wanted to disband the American party. He was no orator; but whatever he had of energy, talent, good will, and devotion to American interests, should be given to this cause, until victory perched upon its banners. The speaker then retired, amid tremendous cheering.

Loud cries were now made for Brownlow, of Tennessee. On taking the stand in response, he said that his speech on this occasion would be, like all his speeches, short and sweet, like a roasted maggot. For seventeen years he had performed the dreadful service of editing a political paper, and he could say in that connection that his paper had the largest circulation of any political paper in Tennessee. He had fought hard and long for the Whig party, but he had seen fit to leave that organization. Why, with Millard Fillmore to lead, and even with Josh Giddings behind him, we could carry our State. But with this large, patriotic, greasy Tennesseean, (pointing to Major Donelson,) the Pierce party will be a transcendental nothing. He should go home with the determination to jump higher and squall louder than any man in Tennessee, and would open the ball at Knoxville, on Monday next. [Applause and laughter.] It had been understood as arranged that Major Donelson would be put on the ticket with Andrew Jackson in big letters, and Donelson invisible, and then the old line Democrats would think that old Hickory had come to life again. He then proposed the party should disperse, having done the good work.

The Know Nothings of the North, in their intense passion for Americanism, will be rejoiced to know that Mr. Donelson has thousands of letters from General Jackson; that he owns one hundred negroes; that he is "a large, patriotic, greasy Tennesseean;" nor must they forget the curious device of Parson Brownlow to print Andrew Jackson on their banners in immense letters, and "Donelson" in "invisible" ones!

Mr. McCune, of Virginia, said that the National Council had adopted a platform which was satisfactory neither to the North nor to the South. They had now a platform which was satisfactory to both, in the shape of Fillmore and Donelson. He moved that this Convention repudiate all platforms. The motion was seconded, and thereupon a great scene of confusion took place, in the midst of which the vote was taken on the motion, but it was impossible for any one to decide whether it was adopted or rejected. The President was unable to tell, but he thought that it was lost. On the other hand, the Virginians contended that it was adopted. In the midst of the confusion, a motion was made to adjourn *sine die*, and it prevailed.

Immediately afterward, Col. E. B. Bartlett, of Kentucky, was called to the chair, and the assemblage present was organized as an impromptu ratification meeting. The President made a few remarks expressive of his hearty concurrence in the nomination, and of the determination of Kentucky to elect the American ticket.

Andrew Stewart, of Pennsylvania, followed in an eulogistic speech of the candidate for President, Millard Fillmore.

He was succeeded by Mr. Sheets of Indiana, and Mr. Breckenridge of Missouri, in the same strain. Sheets said that he had been a member of the Cincinnati Convention, which meeting he thought had saved the American party North. He could not pledge Indiana for the American ticket, but he and his friends would go home and do what they could.

The poor, drivelling, corrupt North, slinking to the feet of its master! Behold what Know Nothingism has done for the cause of Freedom! The final chapter will be written in November next.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, *February* 23, 1856.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Enclosed you have a communication, which was sent to the office of the *National Intelligencer* for publication on the day of its date.

It was returned to me yesterday, with the refusal of the Editors to publish it, on the ground that the subject-matter of it was not of sufficient importance to justify its publication.

My reasons for selecting the *Intelligencer* for the publication of it, were: 1st. That from early life, until within a very few years, I had always regarded that paper as the most authentic and reliable exponent of my political creed, and the undoubted organ of the political party with which I had always acted so long as it had a political existence. 2d. Because I supposed the politics of the *Intelligencer* to be more in harmony with the opinions of the great body of the people of the District, whose attention I desired to attract to the subject, than any other paper.

I now ask you, upon whom I have no claims, and with whom I sympathize in only a single question (so far as I know) in the whole range of National Politics, to do me the favor, which is refused by my former friends, of publishing the enclosed communication.

Yours, &c., B. STANTON.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, Feb. 20, 1856.

Messrs. Gales & Seaton:

GENTLEMEN: I cut the following toast and response, from the proceedings of the recent Southern Convention at Richmond, as they were reported to the New York *Herald*:

"The District of Columbia: The battle ground of Southern institutions—we plant our standard here. Who will desert that flag? Air by the band.

"Mr. Ould, of Georgetown, responded to the toast. He would say for the District, that, if any controversy takes place between the two sections of this country, the position she would occupy in it is very well known; she cherishes the sentiments of the whole South, although she is on the northern frontier. The point which has been made the fulcrum of Slavery agitated in Congress, shall be, if it comes to that, made 'the bloody ground,' and it shall prove itself, like the arch, the stronger for the pressure. He knew there would be, in an event of that kind, the strongest responsibility devolving upon a people holding such relations with the North as the District of Columbia did. But her people had learned to meet this responsibility. They had stared at the Medusa head, and were not turned to stone. [Applause.] The South might, therefore, rely upon the District, that when the time comes, they will redeem the promises they had made."

I desire to inquire of Mr. Ould, through the *Intelligencer*, whether his response is correctly reported.

And in doing so, I disclaim any intention to cast any censure, or make any imputation against him, for uttering the sentiments contained in it. It is a matter of some importance for Northern men, and especially for members of Congress from the free States, who do not sympathize with the people of the District on the subject of Slavery, to know, with as much accuracy as possible, the precise state of feeling entertained toward them by the great body of the people here.

And as this speech was made by one representative of the District in the presence of others, who by their silence endorsed it, I regard it as a very authentic, and no doubt very accurate, representation of that feeling.

Viewing it in this light, justice to Mr. Ould and his colleagues, as well as to their constituents, requires that they should have an opportunity of correcting any errors that may have crept into a newspaper report of what was said and done upon that occasion.

Hoping that you will have the goodness to publish this note, and that Mr. Ould will do me the favor to reply to it through the *Intelligencer*, I subscribe myself, very respectfully, your obedient servant, B. STANTON.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, MARCH 6, 1856.

THE NATIONAL ERA FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

The National Republican Party is at last inaugurated. The official report of the proceedings of the Republican Convention at Pittsburgh, and sketches of the speeches made, published in another place, will be read with intense interest. As it has placed the Party in a position, in which it accepts the issue forced upon it by the Slavery and Administration Party, in which we can consistently and cordially sustain it, and which bids fair to command the support of the great body of the voters of the country opposed to the rule of the Slave Oligarchy, and as its nominations at the Convention in June will doubtless be made to conform strictly to, and enforce that position, we propose to issue the *National Era*,

FOR THE CAMPAIGN,

From the 4th of April, ensuing, to the 5th of December, inclusive, comprising thirty-six numbers of the *Era*, covering the whole period of the Presidential canvass, election, and returns,

For $1 a copy, to clubs of five, or more.

The Republican, is now, the first National Party in the field; its immediate duty is, to perfect its organization in every State, and marshal all its forces for the great struggle with the Oligarchy and its auxiliaries, next November. To maintain it as the first Party, and to insure its triumph, the Press that advocates its Principles and Policy must be put in requisition, and its issues scattered, thick as "the leaves in Vallambrosa." If our friends think the *National Era*, which has labored so incessantly to bring about the union of freemen in one organization, on one issue, for the overthrow of the Slave Power, can render service in the work before them, will they give a little time and effort, to enlarge the sphere of its influence, by raising subscribers for the campaign edition? As to its character, it will be, what it has always been, pending a struggle for ascendency at the ballot-box.

THE NATIONAL KNOW NOTHINGS—PLATFORM—NOMINATIONS—SECESSION—THE TRUE POLICY.

On the first page of the *Era* may be found a report, compiled from the Philadelphia *North American* and the New York *Herald*, of the final proceedings of the National Know Nothing Convention. Our readers are now in possession of an authentic account of the action both of the National Convention and National Council of the Know Nothings.

The construction of the platform by one preceded the nominations by the other; and the nominees, of course, are placed on the platform, reflecting and representing its Principles, so that those who shall vote for the former will sanction the latter.

The new creed nominally sets aside the 12th section of the old, but in effect includes it. Apart from its piety and "palaver," it may be summed up as follows:

1. *Native-born*, should be selected for all offices, Federal, State, and Municipal, in preference to naturalized citizens.

2. The period of naturalization should be extended to twenty-one years.

3. It affirms the so-called Principle of the Nebraska bill—the right of the native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States, permanently residing in any Territory thereof, to frame their own Constitution and laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, (the limitation being copied almost word for word from the Nebraska bill.)

4. It affirms the Principle of the Compromise, so-called, of 1850, asserting, in opposition to the doctrine of Slavery Restriction, the right of the People of a Territory to admission as a State, whenever they have the requisite population for one Representative, without any other limitation.

5. Under the vague and deceptive phrase, "sectional questions," it ignores all questions of Slavery, leaving to the Slave Power, without contest, protest, or even dissent, the entire ground it has usurped.

The creed is consistent. It is imbued with the spirit of Caste and of Slavery. It frowns upon Naturalized citizens and Anti-Slavery citizens. It would discourage foreign immigration, (the principal cause hitherto of the rapid growth of *free* States,) by excluding the immigrant from political privileges, and thus creating a degraded white caste, while it would guard and strengthen the usurpations of an Oligarchy whose power is founded on the perpetuation of a degraded black caste.

By Mr. Douglas and his associates, it was urged that the Compromises of 1850 established the Principle that the People of a Territory have the right to determine their own institutions, subject alone to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, and that, therefore, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise prohibiting Slavery north of 36° 30′, was simply the logical and legitimate application of that Principle. As the Know Nothing Convention endorsed both the Principle and its application, it was eminently fit that it should select as its standard bearer the author of the Compromises of 1850; and were it possible for the Oligarchy to demand further evidence of the loyalty of the new Party to its interests, it would be furnished in the fact, that its Presidential nominee is also the signer of the Fugitive Slave Act, and that his Administration was the first to put the army and navy of the United States in requisition to enforce the business of catching slaves. By no other selection could it have shown so profound contempt for the sentiments and institutions of the free States.

We have often said that in the South Know Nothingism is chiefly an amalgam of Nativism and Whigery. The action of the Council and Convention confirm the theory. The most active men in both, with a few exceptions, were old Whigs. The anti-Catholic test, so tenaciously adhered to by a majority of Northern Know Nothings, has always been repudiated in the South, and accordingly we find the test rejected in the new Platform. The slaveholders, on this point, as well as on the subject of Slavery, carried the day. Intense Native Americanism and Pro-Slaveryism were combined, and then, welded by the nomination of a "Silver Gray" Whig.

As for A. J. Donelson, he was nominated because his Christian name is ANDREW JACKSON, because he carries about with him some thousands of private letters from "Old Hickory," having about the same virtue as a precious bit of bone from the tomb of a dead Saint, above all, because his ownership of one hundred negroes is his patent to membership in the Oligarchy which rules, we know, by the divine right of human chattelship, and in virtue of the servility of the North.

How the nomination of a "Silver Gray Whig" may be received by Know Nothings of Democratic antecedents, we cannot say; perhaps the Jackson relics of his associate may reconcile them; at all events, the straight Whigs, as they are called, may be expected to welcome it. The *Commercial Advertiser*, of New York, is pleased, and the *National Intelligencer*, which still clings to the illusion that there is a Whig party, pledges itself to go with it, should it agree to adopt Mr. Fillmore as its candidate. Speaking of the nominations, it remarks with decorous humility:

"As we are not members of that party, we should conceive that we had no right to find fault with its selection, were it in any respect objectionable; so, perhaps, it is not particularly incumbent on us to praise its choice, free as it not only is from exception, but fit, and proper, and worthy as everybody knows the distinguished citizen to be whom the party has chosen as their candidate for the Presidency. What course the Whigs may pursue under the present political circumstances of the country, what candidate they may select or what person they may support for the Chief Magistracy, it is not for us to decide, or for any one now to say. It will doubtless be deemed proper by them to take counsel together, as to the path which their duty to the country and to their principles shall prescribe; and that path we, as unwavering adherents of the party, shall be prepared to tread, without hesitation and without faltering. Whether they shall resolve upon an independent course or not, and whether it lead to success or failure, belong to the future; but we should be unfaithful to our known sentiments and uniform avowals, if we were to suppress now the expression of our opinion of the merits of Mr. Fillmore, and the confidence with which, on trial, he inspired the country in his qualifications for a wise and safe and conservative President.

"Of the respectable gentleman whom the party has placed on their ticket for the Vice Presidency, we are less qualified to speak. He is a man of talents, and of some experience in public affairs, having represented the country abroad both at Berlin and Frankfort. He was a member of General Jackson's family, and once a leading member of the Democratic party, but his career has been marked by great political independence, evincing integrity and patriotism."

How well our Southern tacticians understand the trade of politics. "Foreignism," if an evil, is one that has never afflicted their section: the real misfortune of the South is—and they know it—that foreign immigration shuns slave territory. Catholicism, if an evil, is one that their section has never suffered from, and cares nothing about. And yet, the moment Know Nothingism became an Element of Power, they seized it, and nationalized it: they became zealous brethren in the Order, and finally its masters. To them it would answer the same purpose as the old Whig party—to divide the free States, to break up the unity of the non-slaveholders, and secure victory to the Slave Power. They have nominated Millard Fillmore, with no expectation of carrying the ticket; but they will be satisfied if they split the electoral votes of the free States, and enable Pierce or Buchanan to triumph over "Black Republicanism," the only foe they dread. With either of these men in the Presidential chair, the Oligarchy would be well cared for—its ascendency be perpetuated. Personally, they might reap few advantages, but politically their Class would continue as powerful as ever.

How long will the People suffer themselves to be overreached by this cunning policy?

We have not yet done with this Know Nothing Convention. There was a secession: some Northern delegates, who, with the habitual credulity of the North, had gone to the Convention believing that they could trust in Northern backbone, finding themselves suppressed, withdrew. And what did these enlightened gentlemen do? Had they learned wisdom by experience? Let us see.

They numbered, one from New Hampshire, five from Connecticut, two from Rhode Island, two from Massachusetts, four from Pennsylvania, fifteen from Ohio, two from Iowa, one from Illinois—in all, thirty-two, from eight States.

They seceded, for the alleged reason that Slavery had decided the action of the Convention. What was their true policy, if really in earnest and anxious to unite the opponents of Slavery

Obviously, to record their protest against the action of the Convention, to declare that the American Party had been sectionalized, converted into an instrumentality of the Slave Power, and that nothing now remained for all sincere opponents of Slavery Extension, but to unite on this single issue, without distinction of party. That would have been the dictate of common sense, *if* they were honest in their Anti-Slavery professions. But, instead of pursuing this straight-forward, manly course, looking to a union of the elements of opposition to the Slave Power, to work they went to keep up division in the free States, by making provision for a kind of North American Party! Not content with the disorganization of the non-slaveholding voters, by Pro-Slavery Democracy, Straight-out Whigery, and National Know Nothingism, they must have a subdivision, through the instrumentality of Northern Know Nothingism!

Lieutenant Governor Ford, of Ohio, *elected as a Republican*, presided. A Mr. Kase, of Pennsylvania, was with the bolters, but was not disposed "to go to the Republicans." Mr. Riddle would turn from the Convention, and appeal to the "*American* Party of the Union." Mr. Stambaugh, of Ohio, was ready to "unite with Republicans on the principles of Freedom *and Americanism*." Mr. Williamson, of Pennsylvania, desired a nomination on the instant. Mr. Peck, of Connecticut, thought by being cautious a great Party might be formed, "*that would absorb Black Republicanism.*" Mr. Spooner, of Ohio, thought it was not in good taste to speak in denunciatory terms of the Republican Party. Mr. Perkins contended that "this (the Seceders assembled) was the American Party, and the Nominating Convention was in league with the Catholics." Ex-Governor Johnston objected to attacks on the Republican Party.

Mr. Riddle, of Pa., from the Business Committee, reported the declaration below, which he said had been drawn up after having compared views, and it was subsequently signed by the gentlemen whose names are attached:

To the American Party of the Union:

The undersigned, delegates to the Nominating Convention now in session at Philadelphia, find themselves compelled to dissent from the principles avowed by that body; and holding the opinion, as they do, that the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, demanded by a majority of the whole people, is a redress of an undeniable wrong, and the execution of it, in spirit at least, indispensable to the repose of the country, they have regarded the refusal of that Convention to recognise the well-defined opinion of the country and of the Americans of the free States, upon this question, as a denial of their rights and a rebuke to their sentiments; and they hold that the admission into the National Council and Nominating Convention of the delegates from Louisiana, representing a Roman Catholic constituency, absolved every true American from all obligation to sustain the action of either of said bodies. They have, therefore, withdrawn from the Nominating Convention, refusing to participate in the proposed nomination; and now address themselves to the Americans of the country, especially of the States they represent, to justify and approve their action. And to the end that a nomination, conforming to the overruling sentiment of the country in the great issue, may be regularly and auspiciously made, the undersigned propose to the Americans in all the States to assemble in their several State organizations, and elect delegates to a Convention, to meet in the city of New York, on Thursday, the 12th day of June next, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice President of the United States.

Ohio.
Thomas H. Ford.
J. H. Baker.
B. S. Kyle.
W. H. C. Mitchell.
E. T. Sturtevant.
O. T. Fishback.
Jacob Elbert.
Wm. B. Allison.
H. C. Hedges.
L. H. Olds.
W. B. Chapman.
Thomas McLees.
Charles Nichols.
New Hampshire.
Anthony Colby.
Connecticut.
Lucius G. Peck.
James E. Dunham.
Hezekiah Griswold.
Austin Baldwin.
Edmund Perkins.
David B. Booth.
Massachusetts.
Wild. S. Thurston.
Z. R. Pangborn.

Illinois.
Henry S. Jennings.
Pennsylvania.
Wm. F. Johnston.
S. C. Kase.
Robert M. Riddle.
T. J. Coffey.
John Williamson.
J. Harrison Sewell.
Rhode Island.
E. J. Nightingale.
Michigan.
S. T. Lyon.
W. Fuller.
W. S. Wood.
P. P. Medler.
J. Hamilton.
Wisconsin.
David A. Gillies.
John Lockwood.
Robert Chandler.
G. Burdick.
C. W. Cook.
Iowa.
L. H. Webster.

We concur in the secession from the Convention, but do not concur in the call for a Convention, believing that the whole North ought to unite in a common organization to resist the aggressions of Slavery.

WILLIAM PENN CLARK, *of Iowa.*
D. W. W. STAMBAUGH, *of Ohio.*
THOMAS SPOONER, *of Ohio.*
CHARLES NICHOLS, *of Ohio.*
JOHN JOHNSON, *of Ohio.*
J. H. BAKER, *of Ohio.*

Among the speakers was Mr. Hammond, editor of the *Albany State Register*, of New York. He considered the nomination of Mr. Fillmore the most violent betrayal of the principles of their Order ever put upon any party in this country. He is not a member of the Order, reports to the contrary notwithstanding. It is a Whig ticket, and nothing else. He pledged New York for thirty-five delegates to the nominating Convention. He was opposed to any union with the Republican party. He had no objection to that party going up with their kite, but it must be on the tail of it. [Applause.]

The following Executive Committee was appointed:

New Hampshire, A. Colby; Connecticut, Austin Baldwin; Rhode Island, E. J. Nightingale; Massachusetts, Z. Pangborn; Vermont, J. M. Slade; New York, F. H. Ruggles; Ohio, J. H. Baker; Wisconsin, John Lockwood; Illinois, Henry S. Jennings; Pennsylvania, W. F. Johnston; Michigan, W. Fuller; Iowa, L. H. Webster; Indiana, Solomon Meredith.

The following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee are authorized, at their discretion, to alter the date for the assembling of the National Convention, and that the Convention designate the time and manner of electing the delegates.

At half past eleven, the Convention adjourned in high glee.

He had no objection to the Republican Party going up with the Know Nothing kite, but "*it must be on the tail of it!*" And there was applause!

The Seceders propose to organize a North American Party—to make an "American" kite, and fasten to it a Republican tail. They reject the policy of a union with the friends of Freedom on the one issue tendered by the slaveholders. They will have no union, unless on the Know Nothing platform, under the Know Nothing banner. They have appointed an Executive Committee, and called a Convention of American delegates, to meet at New York on the 12th of June next to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency. Their whole action looks to the perpetuation of the Know Nothing Order in the Free States, with all its peculiar dogmas, with this additional one, so as to absorb the Republicans—the restoration of the Missouri Compromise—a thing which will never be done. They seceded because the restoration of the Missouri Compromise was not conceded, and because the Louisiana delegation, representing a Catholic constituency, was admitted; but they do not dissent from the position of the National Council, that the period of naturalization should be twenty-one years. And, finally, they propose that the nomination should conform to the sentiments of this new party. They will therefore be pledged to the exclusion of Catholics from office, to the extension of the period of naturalization to twenty-one years, to the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, if practicable, and to the perpetuation of the Secret Order.

It follows, that they array against their new party the entire South, the whole body of naturalized citizens, all Catholics, all opponents of religious tests, all opponents of a Secret Political Order, all National Know Nothings, the whole Republican party. Success, of course, they cannot expect. What, then, do they propose to accomplish? A coalition with the Republican party, and a mixed ticket. For one, I prefer to see power continued in the hands of the so-called Democracy another four years, to such a coalition. With individuals entertaining different sentiments on the subjects of Free Trade, Naturalization, Currency, I will unite on one issue, throwing aside all others; but a union founded on a coalition between parties entertaining antagonistic principles, where support to the coalition ticket must involve the support of direct antagonisms, shall never have our sanction or aid.

This miserable attempt, then, to perpetuate the Know Nothing Order at the North, and make the Republican movement tributary to it, will, if persisted in, still more deplorably divide the Free States. What would have been thought in 1852, had a few Whigs seceded from the Baltimore Convention on the ground of Anti-Slavery principle, and then proceeded to construct a Northern Whig party, with the hope of rallying all the opponents of Slavery on the Whig basis, and in support of Whig policy, with a slight Anti-Slavery infusion added? What better claim has Americanism on us, who utterly reject it, than Whigery had? Did not the Whig party in Massachusetts make just such an unwarrantable demand? And what was the response of the People?

It is time that we all understood one another. The term, "Republican," designates *those opponents of Slavery, who are willing to dissolve all hitherto existing party ties, to put aside all ordinary issues, and to unite, without distinction of party, in one organization, on the one issue—the repeal of all acts allowing Slavery to exist in any Territory once consecrated to Freedom, and the exclusion of Slavery from the Territories of the United States.* These persons are gradually crystallizing such a Party. They ask their fellow-citizens, Protestants, Catholics, Native-born, Naturalized, Whigs, Democrats, Abolitionists, "Americans," to unite with them on equal terms in forming such an organization. They ask no more than they themselves have done. They have sundered all party ties—let "Americans," Whigs, Democrats, Free Democrats, do the same. Is there any humiliation in that? Why, in the present crisis, should a Democrat cut loose from his Party, and an "American" hold on to his?

We tell you, Know Nothings of the Free States, that if you are so "American" that you cannot dissolve your party ties, as we have done, and unite with us on equal terms, on the present question, you are more wedded to your Nativism and Anti-Catholicism, than you are to Freedom, and your proper place is, the National American Party, under the lead of Millard Fillmore. Be manly—choose openly whom you will serve—Freedom or Slavery. If you are for Freedom, alone, say so, surrender your Party, and we are with you. If you are for "Americanism" and Freedom—as much of the latter as you can get without suspending the claims of the former—make terms at once with the Fillmore Nationals, help them cripple the North, and to give power again to Slavery. Manage as you may, we will never support, directly or indirectly, a Know Nothing Party, National or Northern.

We call upon all true Anti-Slavery men who have been trying to use the Order to advance the interests of Freedom, now that it is openly sectionalized, and committed to the cause of Slavery, to give it up—disband your Councils, or, where you have not this power, leave them without the influence your presence has hitherto lent them. Let us have a Republican Party, which, if not successful in 1856, shall come into power in 1860, with the full force of its Principles, unadulterated by base alloy.

CONGRESS—THE LAST WEEK.

Little progress has been made in Congress.

On the 26th February, Mr. Mallory, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, reported a bill authorizing the construction of ten additional sloops of war, and appropriating for the purpose two millions of dollars. The policy of the bill is, to build up gradually an immense navy, which shall prove as exhausting to the resources of the country as the naval armaments of England and France are to them.

The same day, Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, discussed the Central American Question, in his usual discursive style, but his tone was eminently moderate and pacific.

A message was received from the President during the session recommending an appropriation of $3,000,000 for the preparation of armaments for the fortifications, the increase of small arms, and the improvement of old patterns, &c.

This makes five millions extra, proposed to be expended on military and naval preparations. What next?

Wednesday, 27th, Mr. Butler, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported that there was so much division of opinion among the members, in regard to the case of Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, that it was thought best for the Senate to decide the matter, and the Committee was accordingly discharged from the further consideration of the subject. Mr. Crittenden moved a resolution affirming the right of Mr. T. to his seat, and it was made the special order for Monday, March 3.

On motion,

"*Resolved*, That the different heads of Departments of the Government, judicial and executive, be directed to furnish, for the information of the Senate, a statement of any and all sums of money which have been paid, or agreed to be paid, for printing for each of the several bureaus and offices of such Departments, during the year ending December 31, 1855, which has not been executed under the provisions of the act of August 26, 1852, regulating the prices of the public printing," &c.

In the House, same day, Mr. Campbell, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported the Indian Appropriation bill.

Mr. Grow, from the Committee on Agriculture, reported a bill to grant a homestead of one hundred and sixty acres of the public domain to actual settlers; also, House bill, to enable the people of Oregon to form a State Constitution.

Also, from a majority of the same committee, reported a bill to amend and supplementary to an act entitled "An act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas;" which was read twice, and committed.

[The bill has reference to elections in the Territory of Kansas, and, among other things, subjects to fine and imprisonment any person or persons who shall enter "any election district of said Territory, in armed and organized bodies, for the purpose of participating in, disturbing, controlling, or voting at any election held under the authority of law therein."]

Also, from a majority of the same committee, reported a bill to annul certain acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Kansas, and to secure to the citizens of said Territory their rights and privileges; which was read twice, and committed.

[Among the acts of the Legislative Assembly which the bill proposes to annul, is that "to punish offences against slave property." It also provides that the inhabitants of Kansas shall not be required, as a qualification to vote or hold office, or to practice as attorneys in any court of law, to take any oath or affirmation, in addition to that of citizenship or of fidelity in the discharge of the duties appertaining to their offices, other than to support the Constitution of the United States.]

Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, subsequently moved to reconsider the vote by which this bill was referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. If the Committee on Territories would examine the subject, they would probably find that the bill was a virtual recognition of the validity of the Kansas Legislature. He was unwilling to make any concession upon that point until the difficulties which he suggested some days ago should be settled.

The motion was entered.

Mr. Meacham, of Vermont, introduced, in pursuance of notice, a bill defining the rights of voters and the duties of commissioners of elections in the city of Washington, and for other purposes; which was read twice, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The bill, as printed in the official report, is well calculated to guard the rights of voters, and secure their free exercise. We hope our friends in Congress will give it their support.

Thursday, 28th, the President transmitted to the Senate copies of the correspondence between the United States and England, in relation to the Enlistment Question, and to the subject of arbitration. In another column, we notice these topics at some length.

The Senate then proceeded to consider the resolution to print 10,000 extra copies of the President's message concerning Kansas affairs, when Mr. Hale took the floor, and, in a speech of nearly two hours length, fully exposed the criminal policy of the Administration in relation to Kansas. The speech was well considered, and very able. It will appear next week. Mr. Toombs replied, defending and justifying the President, but his speech was in better tone than many we have read on the same side of the question.

In the House, after the introduction of numerous resolutions and bills, the Deficiency Bill was discussed in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, but no action was taken upon it. The House then adjourned over till Monday.

Monday, March 3d, the bill to authorize the construction of ten sloops of war, was considered. Little opposition was made to it. Mr. Hale thought it absurd by this little appropriation to attempt to put our navy on a footing with that of England. It would be better for us to economize. It was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, by a vote of 35 to 8—Messrs. Adams, Durkee, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, Houston, Seward, Wade, voting in the negative.

It is marvellous how such measures can be carried in the Senate without a full discussion of their policy.

The resolution affirming the right of Mr. Trumbull to his seat was then discussed, Mr. Crittenden supporting, and Mr. Pugh, of Ohio, opposing it.

The House devoted much of the day to the consideration of the Deficiency bill, which was at last reported.

With the exception, then, of the several speeches on Kansas affairs, and the correspondence laid before the Senate in relation to the Enlistment and Central American Questions, the proceedings of Congress the last week have been barren of interest.

BRITISH ENLISTMENT QUESTION.

The President, last week, laid before the Senate copies of the correspondence that has taken place between the Governments of England and the United States, in relation to the enlistment question. It is entirely too voluminous for our columns, consisting of a score of letters, with accompanying documents, extending from April 21, 1854, to February 1, 1856.

"It opens with a letter from Mr. Crampton, announcing the existence of war between Russia and England, and the determination of the latter not to issue letters of marque, to which Mr. Marcy replied. Then follows a letter from Marcy, written in a mild tone, instructing Mr. Buchanan to call the attention of the British Government to the fact that enlistments, apparently with its knowledge and approval, were making in the United States for the English service, although Mr. Crampton had previously expressed his disapprobation of it. Mr. Buchanan, upon the receipt of Mr. Marcy's letter, laid the subject before Lord Clarendon, on the sixth of July last, in a letter of some length, giving a full statement of what had transpired in the United States.

"On the 15th of July, Mr. Marcy again writes to Mr. Buchanan, telling him that the business of recruiting in the United States for the British army was not only continued, but prosecuted with increased success. He therefore instructs Mr. Buchanan to say to Her Majesty's Government that the President expects it will take prompt and effective measures to arrest the proceedings of the recruiting officers, and to discharge from service those persons now in it who were enlisted within the United States, or who left the United States under contracts made here to enter and serve as soldiers in the British army.

"On the 20th of July, Mr. Buchanan transmitted to Mr. Marcy a reply of Lord Clarendon to his letter of the 6th. Lord Clarendon expresses the regret of his Government if the laws of the United States have been violated as alleged; states that, in opening recruiting offices in the British provinces, stringent instructions were issued to the officers to guard against any violation of the neutrality laws of the United States; and admits that instances of undoubted violations of our laws had taken place, but alleges that the offenders were acting without authority from his Government or its agents. He then quotes the opinion of Judge Kane, that the payment of the passage from this country of a man who desires to enlist in a foreign port does not violate the neutrality act of 1818; and concludes by stating that, in view of the fact that no precautionary means adopted by Great Britain would prevent a real or imaginary infringement of our laws, it had been determined that all proceedings for enlistment should be put an end to.

"On the 5th September, Mr. Marcy addressed Mr. Crampton, and, after a review of what has been done, expresses his regret that Mr. Crampton is implicated, together with many other British officers in the United States and the British provinces. The object of the note is to ascertain how far the acts of the known and acknowledged agents of the British Government, done within the United States, in carrying out this scheme of recruiting for the British army, have been authorized or sanctioned by her Majesty's Government.

"To this note Mr. Crampton declines replying at length, until put in possession of the views of her Majesty's Government; but says, 'I confidently trust that I shall be enabled altogether to remove the unfavorable impression which has been created as to the motives and conduct of her Majesty's Government and their officers, including myself, in regard to this matter.'

"Copies of these notes were sent to Mr. Buchanan, accompanied with the opinion that the British Government must have been misinformed in asserting that the persons who had violated our neutrality laws were self-constituted and unauthorized agents.

"Mr. Buchanan responds on the 28th September, with a copy of Lord Clarendon's note to him of the preceding day. Mr. Buchanan expresses a doubt whether, under the possession of the views of the British Government, Mr. Crampton will be able to exonerate himself."

From this date, the correspondence became more earnest. Lord Clarendon, it is shown, has been misinformed, in assuming that the acts of the British agents were unauthorized. Mr. Marcy distinctly and earnestly exposes the complicity of Mr. Crampton, and other representatives of the British Government, in the illegal transaction, and insists that, in addition to a violation of our municipal law, an offence has been committed against the sovereignty of the United States. Lord Clarendon betrays some temper; speaks of proceedings having been resorted to by our tribunals, to obtain evidence, which are "disdained by all free and liberal Governments," and insinuates that the Government of the United States was indifferent to a violation of its neutrality laws, when Britain was to be the loser. To this offensive language Mr. Marcy replies, temperately and finely, vindicating, in our judgment, beyond all doubt, the good faith of our Government, and demanding from Lord Clarendon a specification of the extraordinary proceedings to which he referred. The British Secretary of State finds it convenient to drop both points; and then withholding all satisfaction for what Mr. Marcy had denominated an offence against our national sovereignty, calls for a distinct arraignment of all the functionaries charged with a violation of our laws, and specifications and details of evidence, promising that the British Government would then deal with the evidence. Mr. Marcy, with dignity, replies, that the United States cannot become a litigant before a British tribunal; that, according to the usage which regulates intercourse between independent nations, he has indicated generally the offence done against the law of the United States, and submitted such evidence as should constrain the British Government to take prompt measures of reparation for a wrong done.

Lord Clarendon rejoins in a letter, in which he abandons positions taken in the beginning of the correspondence, involves himself in contradictions, makes assumptions in regard to the laws of nations, which would lay open the territory of a neutral Power to the recruiting officers of belligerents, and puts such a construction on the neutrality laws of the United States as, if accepted, would make them a dead letter.

We must confess we have never felt, until now, much interest in the Enlistment Question. Our general impression was, that the British Government, in her necessities, supposing it might obtain recruits in the United States, unintentionally violated our neutrality laws, but that so soon as advised of this, desisted from the undertaking, and expressed due regret; that the Administration was needlessly punctilious, and demanded an apology not exactly warranted in the circumstances. With such views we sat down to read the correspondence, expecting to find confirmation of their correctness; but, we must confess, after a careful examination of it, we think that the United States are as clearly in the right as Great Britain is in the wrong; that the demand for reparation has not exceeded the offence; that the correspondence on the part of Mr. Marcy has been conducted temperately, wisely, and ably; that the course of Lord Clarendon has been vacillating, contradictory, unsatisfactory, unmanly. The fact is demonstrated beyond all doubt, that the recruiting business was authorized by the British, that our laws were violated by agents of the Government, that in the violation of those laws and in the offence against our National Sovereignty, the British Ministers and other functionaries are involved. In view of the deep displeasure of the Government of the United States, under these circumstances, the plain duty of the British Government was, not only to express regret, but to withdraw those gentlemen from positions in which they could no longer remain, without an apparent endorsement of their acts. Having failed to do this, Mr. Marcy closes his calm, clear, and convincing letter of February 1st, 1856, with a request which the national honor demands, and the judgment of men of both countries, who will read the correspondence, must sanction.

"When the President presented the case to the consideration of her Majesty's Government, with the assurance that he had such information on the subject as compelled him to believe that British officers, in eminent stations, were implicated in a scheme which had resulted in an infringement of the rights of the United States, and a violation of their law, and asked for some satisfaction for the wrong, he certainly did not expect that the conduct of these officers would be justified upon principles which impair the sovereignty of the United States as an independent nation, and by an interpretation of their law which makes it entirely ineffective for the purposes intended.

"Some satisfaction for the injury was confidently expected, but nothing that can be regarded in that light has been offered; and this Government is compelled, in vindication of its rights and laws, to take a course which it sincerely hoped her Majesty's Government would have rendered unnecessary.

"Her Majesty's Minister to this Government, Mr. Crampton, has taken a conspicuous part in organizing and executing the scheme of recruiting for the British army within the United States. Were it possible, with due regard to the evidence and disclosures in the case, to assign him a subordinate part in that scheme, even that would not allow the President to change the course which he is obliged, under the circumstances, to pursue toward him. Any participation in the project, as it has been developed, of raising recruits in this country for the British service, was incompatible with his official relations to this Government. His connection with that affair has rendered him an unacceptable representative of her Britannic Majesty near this Government, and you are directed by the President to ask her Majesty's Government to recall him.

"Mr. Rowcroft, the British Consul at Cincinnati, and Mr. Matthew, the British Consul at Philadelphia, are implicated in the recruiting project, and you are further directed by the President to ask for their removal for that cause.

"The persons connected with the British consulate at New York have been actively engaged in furthering the recruiting scheme. Mr. Stanley, the assistant or clerk of the Consul, has taken a more open and effective part than the Consul himself, and is now under an indictment for violating the law against foreign recruiting. The Consul, Mr. Barclay, could not but know of Mr. Stanley's conduct in that matter, but he still retains him in the consulate. Besides the responsibility that rightfully attaches to Mr. Barclay for the improper conduct of an employee in his office, and under his immediate and daily observation, this Government is satisfied that he has himself not only favored the recruiting for the British army, but has participated in it. Moreover, the improper conduct of Mr. Barclay, in the case of the barque Maury, has justly given offence to the commercial community in which he resides, and with which he has official connection.

"For these reasons, this Government deems it proper to instruct you to ask the Government of Great Britain to withdraw Mr. Barclay from the post of British Consul at New York."

CENTRAL AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

January 31st, in the British House of Lords, Lord Clarendon said, in relation to Central American affairs:

"In such a case, correspondence is useless, and I lost no time in offering to refer the whole question to the arbitration of any third Power, both sides agreeing to be bound by the decision. That offer has not yet been accepted. It has been renewed, and I hope that, upon further consideration, the Government of the United States will agree to it." * * * *

This revelation awakened surprise on both sides the Atlantic, for not an intimation had emanated from the President or any member of his Administration, that such a proposal had been made by the British Government. In reply to a call from the Senate, copies of correspondence in relation to it were laid before that body last Friday, from which it appears that Lord Clarendon had often, in conversation with Mr. Buchanan, suggested arbitration, as the best mode of settling the difficulty—that Mr. B. had treated it rather jocularly, dissented from it, and had not seen proper to regard it as a formal proposition—that a formal proposition had been sent to Mr. Crampton, dated November 10th, received by him in December, and never laid before our Government till February 27th—(last Wednesday.)

November 21, 1854, Mr. Buchanan writes to Mr. Marcy that Lord Clarendon "intimated that it might be desirable to have the opinion of a third Power."

November 2, 1855, he writes to Mr. Marcy:

"In the course of the conversation, I observed to him that the most serious difficulty between the Governments might arise out of the Central American questions. He said that when two Governments disagreed about the construction of a treaty, the best and most natural mode was to refer the question to a third Power. At an early period of the negotiation, he had made this suggestion, but I had jocularly replied that the Emperor of Russia was the only Power sufficiently independent to act as an impartial umpire in the case, and they had gone to war with him." * * * *

November, 9, 1855, he again writes:

"He then said, about these Central American questions, the best mode of settling them is by arbitration. I replied, there was nothing to arbitrate. He said the true construction of the treaty was a proper subject for arbitration. I told him I did not consider it a question for construction at all. The language was plain and explicit, and I thought this would be the almost unanimous opinion of the American people; but, in writing to you, I should mention what he had now said, as I had done what he had said at our former interview." * *

February 8, 1856, Mr. Buchanan writes that he had an interview with Lord Clarendon, who told him that he considered he had proposed a reference of the question to arbitration, in the various conversations he had held with Mr. B.:

"He then, for the first time, informed me that he had addressed a despatch to Mr. Crampton on the subject, with instructions to him to read it to you. He then sent for it, and read it to me. I believe it is dated in November; but, a copy being doubtless in your possession, it will speak for itself; and he informed me that all you had said about it to Mr. Crampton was that the matter was in Mr. Buchanan's hands.

"He proceeded to express a decided opinion in favor of arbitration, and said that when two friendly Governments disagreed upon the construction of a treaty, the natural and appropriate course was to refer the question to a third friendly Power. He had ever firmly believed their construction of the treaty to be correct. He then requested me to communicate to you their proposals for an arbitration, and how anxious they were that the question might be settled in this manner. I told him I should cheerfully comply with his request, but repeated that my own individual opinions remained unchanged. I considered the language of the treaty too clear for serious doubt; and such I believed was the opinion of public men of all parties in the United States. This had been evinced by the recent debate in the Senate on the President's message. Besides, the difficulty of selecting a suitable Sovereign as an arbitrator seemed insurmountable. But I said this was a question for my Government, and not for myself." * * *

Mr. Crampton's part of the correspondence is as follows:

Mr. Crampton to Mr. Marcy.

[Received at the Department of State on the 27th of February, at 11 o'clock P. M.]

WASHINGTON, *Feb.* 27, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: Observing that some misapprehension seems to exist as to the offer made by Lord Clarendon to Mr. Buchanan to submit the points regarding the interpretation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, upon which the two Governments disagree, to arbitration, I think it well to send you the enclosed dispatch, which I received from Lord Clarendon on the subject in December last. I regret not having made you this communication before; but the truth is, that the last paragraph of the dispatch escaped my attention until I referred to it lately; and as I was aware that the negotiation of the question regarding Central America was in Mr. Buchanan's and Lord Clarendon's hands, I considered the dispatch as meant merely for my own information as to what was going forward upon a subject in regard to which I inferred you were already informed.

Believe me yours, very faithfully,
JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

P. S. I send the original despatch, which I will beg of you to return to me, but I have no objection to your taking a copy of it. J. F. C.

Lord Clarendon to Mr. Crampton.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *Nov.* 10, 1855.

SIR: Mr. Buchanan having, in the course of conversation a few days ago, adverted to the impression that would be created in the United States by the non-settlement of the Central American question, I again assured him that England had no wish to extend her influence or to obtain any territory in that part of the world; and I reminded him that, as the difference between this country and the United States turned solely upon the interpretation of the treaty of 1850, I had offered, on the part of her Majesty's Government, to submit the case to the arbitration of a third Power, but that he had declined the offer. Her Majesty's Government, I said, would still abide by that offer, and thought it would be the fairest and most amicable manner of arriving at a settlement of the question. Mr. Buchanan said he would make it known to his Government, and you are instructed to communicate this dispatch to Mr. Marcy.

I am, with great truth and regard, sir, your most obedient, humble servant, CLARENDON.

Had Mr. Buchanan instructions to accept no proposal for arbitration? Did he choose to take the responsibility of not understanding Lord Clarendon's repeated propositions as formal proposals, to be transmitted to his Government? Did Lord Clarendon so frame his language, as, while opening the way for arbitration, to impose on the United States the necessity of making the proposal? Was Mr. Crampton previously instructed to hold back his despatch on the subject, under the expectation that the United States might take the first step?

The ways of diplomacy are sometimes past finding out. One thing we may remark. Conversational diplomacy is quite necessary, but it has its limits. We think Mr. Buchanan, when Lord Clarendon so frequently and urgently spoke of arbitration, ought not to have turned it off with a joke, but have requested him, in so grave a matter, to signify the desire of the British Government in a written communication, that he might lay it before the Administration at Washington.

We are inclined to think that the friendly relations of the two countries would be as much promoted by the retirement of Lord Clarendon from the Foreign Office, as by the return of Mr. Buchanan to the United States.

F. P. BLAIR AND THE MERCHANTS OF BALTIMORE.

The meeting called to dispute Mr. Blair's right to represent the merchants of Baltimore in the Pittsburgh Convention, met at the Exchange at one o'clock on the 27th.

Dr. J. Hanson Thomas called the meeting to order, and nominated the following gentlemen as officers of the meeting, who were chosen by acclamation:

President—John C. Brune.

Vice Presidents—George Brown, C. C. Jamison, W. T. Young, John B. Morris, D. S. Wilson, Thomas Whitridge, William Woodville, William McKim, John S. Gittings, Thomas Swann, G. S. Oldfield, Robert Garrett, William F. Murdoch, A. Schumacher, Andrew Aldridge, John Q. Hewlett, William Devries, Columbus O'Donnell, Jos. C. Wilson, John H. Duvall, William G. Harrison, Alexander Kirkland, William Cocke, Francis Neale.

Secretaries—P. H. Sullivan, B. F. Newcomer, William Wilson, jun., G. U. Porter.

A committee appointed for this purpose reported the following resolutions:

Whereas we, the merchants, traders, and business men generally, of the city of Baltimore, in public meeting, assembled at our Exchange, having learned through the public prints that the President of a political Convention, styling itself the "Republican Convention," held recently at Pittsburgh, announced that he represented "the merchants of wealth and standing in Baltimore;" and

Whereas this meeting comprises members of all political parties recognised in this city and State; and whereas we desire to vindicate our commercial and industrial classes from the imputation of tendencies either Abolition or Free Soil: Be it therefore

Resolved, That we, the merchants, traders, business men, of the city of Baltimore, take this the earliest opportunity indignantly to disavow having conferred authority on any one to represent us in said Convention, and to declare that we have no sympathy with it or its principles.

Resolved, That the State of Maryland and the city of Baltimore hold the strongest attachment to the Union and the Constitution of the United States—among the very first to adopt, Maryland will be one of the last to abandon, these sacred ties.

Resolved, That we have that affection for the State of Maryland, its honor, and its institutions, that we shall ever cling to and preserve them, without spot or blemish, as they have been bequeathed to us.

Resolved, That whilst our loyalty to the South cannot be doubted, we, the merchants of the city of Baltimore, gladly avail of this occasion to declare our affinities with our friends in all sections of the country, in their reprobation of all unnecessary and hurtful political agitation.

Resolved, That these proceedings, signed by the President and Secretaries, be published in the daily papers of this city, with the request that their exchanges copy.

The preamble and resolutions were adopted by acclamation, and on motion the meeting adjourned.

As soon as the meeting was declared adjourned, various calls were made for Mr. Corkran, and that gentleman being present, seemed to be in the act of commencing some remarks, when shouts went up of "Turn him out," "Ride him on a rail," "We want no negro orators here," &c. Mr. Corkran came forward, and wished to explain the part he had taken in the nomination of Mr. Blair, but was prevented from speaking. We fancy a meeting that dared not allow an explanation to be made of what was the special object of complaint, must have represented a very small segment of public opinion, or else the merchants of Baltimore have much less magnanimity than they enjoy the credit of possessing.

The resolutions are founded upon the averment in the preamble, that Mr. Blair announced at Pittsburgh that he represented "the merchants of wealth and standing in Baltimore." This is false; and the meeting, had it seen proper to wait, or ask Mr. Blair what he did say, or permit Mr. Corkran to be heard, might have known it was false. His address, printed in our paper last week, contained this statement:

"*That I received a call to represent the Baltimore Republican Association, composed of men of character and extensive wealth;*" and in the paper submitted by me, explaining the views of my constituents, I characterized them as "*a body of business men of Baltimore.*"

We hope our Western friends will take notice of the men who are so anxious for Southern trade, that they strike before they hear, and

will not allow the truth to come out in evidence.

"At a meeting of the Republican Association of Baltimore, held the 29th day of February, 1856, the following resolutions were introduced, and, after a full and free interchange of sentiment, were adopted, and directed to be published, viz:

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Association are respectfully tendered to Francis P. Blair, Esq., for the able and faithful manner in which he discharged his duty as our representative in the Republican Convention at Pittsburgh, and that it is the sense of this Association that the paper presented by him in said Convention reflects the true opinion of a majority of the voters of Maryland.

"*Resolved*, That the assemblage styling itself a meeting of the merchants, traders, and business men of Baltimore, held at the Exchange on the 27th instant, assumed as the basis of its action a misrepresentation, having no other foundation than a newspaper paragraph; that the promoters of that meeting have not earned, by said action, the meed of wisdom; and that, for the obvious result of the same, the violation of the rights of a peaceful, unoffending, and estimable citizen, and the insult offered, through him, to this Association, we believe they will, sooner or later, receive the condemnation of all right-thinking and law-abiding citizens.

"*Resolved*, That the public press, when conducted by men who justly feel the responsibility of their position, and wield its mighty powers with an eye single to the public good, is, indeed, the palladium of our liberties; but when used by tricksters and wily politicians, it is an engine of base despotism, and 'like a sword in the hands of a fool.'

"Extracted from the minutes.

"HICKS HARRIS, *Secretary*."

OFFICERS OF THE WASHINGTON CITY REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION.

The following named gentlemen have been elected the officers of the Republican Association of this city:

Dr. E. M. Joslin, President.
Jacob Bigelow, 1st Vice President.
Martin Buell, 2d Vice President.
Lewis Clephane, Secretary,
Daniel R. Goodloe, Corresponding Secretary.
H. S. Brown, Treasurer.
William Blanchard, D. I. Bishop, I. Tudor, M. D., } Directors.

REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATIONS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March* 4, 1856.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The Republican Association of this city desire, through the columns of your paper, to announce to our Republican friends the gratifying intelligence that the work of organization throughout the country is fast progressing.

Letters have been received, informing us of the organization of the following associations, for the week ending March 3d:

Raymond, Potter county, Pennsylvania. U. Atwood, President; R. W. Benton, Recording Secretary.

Summerhill, Pennsylvania. Theron Beard, President; Daniel Hammond, Corresponding Secretary.

Beaversville, Jennings county, Indiana. W. Spriggs, President; W. L. Richardson, Corresponding Secretary.

Farmersville, Indiana. Henry Williams, President; John Andrews, Corresponding Secretary.

Neel's Creek, Jefferson county, Indiana. Ah. Wilson, President; J. C. Tibbetts, Corresponding Secretary.

Noblesville, Hamilton county, Indiana. H. W. Clark, President; D. C. Chipman, Corresponding Secretary.

Jerome, Howard county, Indiana. Hampton Brown, President; C. P. Baldwin, Corresponding Secretary.

Durlin, Wayne county, Indiana. Nelson Sharp, President; S. Johnson, Corresponding Secretary.

Stout's, Adams county, Ohio. Joshua Trevieth, President; Stephen Bayles, Corresponding Secretary.

New York City, (German.) Dr. M. Langenschwazy, President.

Yorkville, Oneida county, New York. Darwin Hallenbeck, President; George Balis, Corresponding Secretary.

Versailles, Cattaraugus county, New York.

Auburn, Cayuga county, New York.

Kenosha, Wisconsin. Harmon Marsh, President; L. B. Nichols, Corresponding Secretary.

With your permission, we shall continue to furnish a *weekly* summary of Associations organized. Yours, &c.,

LEWIS CLEPHANE,
Sec. Rep. Association.

RE-ELECTION OF MR. WADE.

On the 28th February, the Hon. B. F. WADE was re-elected, by the Ohio Legislature, United States Senator, for the term of six years. The vote stood, Wade 102, Todd 36, Stansbury 1. Many of the members of the Legislature are said to be Know Nothings. Mr. Wade is not a member of the Order, and has always been known to be opposed to it. The fact of his re-election, therefore, shows that the members of the Legislature are more Republican than anything else, and that they regard with disapprobation the proceedings of the late National Know Nothing Convention.

THE SLAVE CASE AT CINCINNATI.

By an order from Judge Leavitt, of the District Court in Cincinnati, Margaret and the other alleged fugitives have been surrendered by the Sheriff, placed in the hands of the United States Marshal, and, under an escort of two hundred deputies employed at the cost of the United States, conveyed across the Ohio, and given up to their claimant—all this in face of the fact proved on the trial, that they had been in Ohio frequently by the consent of their master!

HON. B. C. EASTMAN.

We find the following obituary of the Hon. B. C. Eastman, a member of the last Congress from Wisconsin, a gentleman of many virtues and fine social qualities. When his death was announced, the Assembly of Wisconsin, then in session, passed resolutions commemorative of his worth, and adjourned in token of respect.

"Mr. Eastman was born in Maine, October 24th, 1812. He commenced the study of the law with Judge Emmons, of Hallowell, Maine, and subsequently completed his studies in New York city. He emigrated to Wisconsin in 1840, located temporarily in Green Bay, and subsequently permanently in Platteville.

"He attained considerable eminence in his profession, and was prompt, honorable, and exact, as a business man.

"He faithfully represented the 2d Congressional district of this State in Congress, for two successive terms; and, although an ardent Democrat, resisted to the last the Nebraska iniquity. Although not politically ambitious, few men in the State could have sought political preferment with brighter prospects of success.

"For some years, Mr. Eastman had abandoned, for the most part, the practice of the law; and, having acquired a handsome competency, it was his intention to have settled himself on a farm he had purchased near Platteville, and spend the remainder of his life in that quiet and seclusion from the jostling of the world, for which he often expressed a desire.

"During his painful sickness, of more than three months, Mr. Eastman was visited by four of his brothers, who are residents of this State, two of whom, physicians, were in constant attendance, and called to their assistance the best medical aid in the country; but from the day of his attack, his disease went slowly but surely on to its fatal termination.

"Mr. Eastman leaves a wife and many friends to mourn his loss."

ADJOURNMENT OF THE SUPREME COURT.—The Supreme Court has adjourned. It will hold a special session in April, when a decision will be rendered in the case of Scott, noticed in a late number of the *Era*. It seems to be the impression that the Court will, if possible, evade any decision of the great questions involved, and dispose of the case on some technicality.

DEATH OF AN AUTHORESS.—*Charleston, February* 18.—Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz, the authoress, died at Marianna, Florida, on the 11th inst.

The Review.

KATE WESTON; or, To Will and To Do. By Jennie De Witt. With eight illustrations by Mr. Lenan, engraved by N. Orr. New York: De Witt & Davenport, 160 Nassau street. For sale by Franck Taylor, Washington, D. C.

The gifted young author of this well-conceived, well-written story, has evinced no little power and skill in its production. The style is animated and piquant. The naturalness of the conversations is one of the principal attractions of the book. There is no stiffness, no affectation, no striving after effect. Everything falls naturally and easily into its place, making up a beautiful whole. The characters are clearly and distinctly drawn, and maintain their individuality throughout. "The puffy little Mr. Pufton," the lisping Mr. Reid, gentle Kate Weston, and gifted, generous Edward Clarence, stand out like pictures on canvass.

But this is not all. A high and holy purpose has inspired the pen of the author. She has drawn from a full heart, as well as from a well-stored mind; and we are sure that her earnest endeavors to warn the unwary and the easily tempted, cannot be lost. She has depicted in vivid colors the desolating effects of intemperance upon all the different classes of society, from the highest to the lowest; and her thrilling appeals to American Christians, whose children and friends are being carried away by this moral whirlpool, cannot but reach the heart. We congratulate the author upon her success, and augur for her work an extensive sale. G.

GEOFFREY MONCTON; or, The Faithless Guardian. By Susanna Moodie, Author of "Roughing it in the Bush," &c., &c. New York: De Witt & Davenport. For sale by Franck Taylor, Washington, D. C.

This is a very entertaining book. The plot is well conceived, the characters finely sustained, and the style smooth and natural. The deep plotting of a villain, the faithful monitions of true friendship, and the sad and comfortless lot of an orphan dependent on wealthy relatives, are portrayed with a force and vividness worthy the reputation of the author. She has powerfully described the sure reward of allowing love of gain to be the ruling desire of life; the signal vengeance which overtakes those who sacrifice truth, honor, and all that is virtuous, to gratify a wrong ambition, and has rendered her story instructive as well as interesting. Having once begun the book, the sympathies of the reader are so thoroughly enlisted, and the attention so riveted, that it is no easy matter to stop till it has been finished. *

GLAUCUS; or, The Wonders of the Sea Shore. By Charles Kingsley, author of Hypatia, &c. One vol., pp. 165. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

This is an odd book to have followed "Hypatia." It shows the versatility of Kingsley's pen, which, in one and the same week, is writing Parish Sermons, Historical Words, and, as in this book, *Studies in Natural History*. *

ANOTHER BUDGET; or, Things which I Saw in the East. By Jane Anthony Eames, author of a Budget of Letters. Second edition. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. One vol., pp. 481.

This is one of the best of the clever books of hand, written of late years by lady travellers. Miss Eames has the skill to interest her readers, from the opening chapter on her voyage and travels, and well repays them for their time by the various knowledge she communicates of all that comes within her review. *

THE LAKE SHORE. By Emile Jonveaux, author of the "Attic Philosopher," &c. Translated from the French. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. One vol., pp. 239. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

This title has nothing to do with the book. It was written by the author while spending her summer months beside a Lake, which lies near her chateau in Brittany. There are three tales, illustrative of social progress of the laboring classes, and are entitled, *The Slave*, and is a picture of the condition of a slave of ancient Rome; *The Serf*, or the life of the laboring man of the middle ages; and *The Apprentice*, or life of our own times. The book is full of interest and instruction. *

THE WIDOW BEDOTT'S PAPERS. With an Introduction by Alice B. Neal, New York. New York: J. C. Derby. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. One volume, pp. 403. Illustrated. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington.

This is a rare book. These papers were written by Miss Berry, a young lady of Western New York, and made their appearance in *Neale's Saturday Evening Gazette*. The author, in her school-girl days, evinced her power for pen and ink and pencil sketches; and these most amusing papers were written by her from an impulse of genius she could not control.

Mrs. Bedott is a vulgar, inconsolable widow, the centre of a village sewing and literary circle, herself gifted with the art of writing "poitry," of which we have here some most admirable specimens. Since the famous Caudle Lectures of poor Lyman Blanchard, nothing like them has appeared, till Widow Bedott began to pour forth her lamentations in "poitry," and to tell the various methods she took to regain her standing as a married woman.

Like her compeers, Hood and Blanchard, Miss Berry was herself subject to deep dejection. Her nature was highly sensitive. Born to a vivid perception of the ridiculous, she could not control the manifestation of her powers. With none near to appreciate her genius, or to give its exercise a happy direction, Miss Berry became a lonely child without companionship—at times melancholy almost to despair; misconceived by those who were about her, and who saw in her reserve and sadness only haughtiness and pride. How like the famous Hood was Miss Berry? The most witty of men with his pen, was in society the saddest.

It was while her soul was thus being educated, Miss Berry wrote these laughter-inspiring "Widow Bedott Papers," in which are pictured "to the life" the village society of the "rural districts" of New York. Nothing can better evidence the fidelity and graphic power of these pen and ink sketches, than the censure inflicted upon the poor artist, from the circles of society in which she lived.

Miss Berry is no more, and these papers are collected and published by request of her family. *

THE PRIVATE LIFE OF AN EASTERN KING. By a Member of the Household of his late Majesty Nussir-u-deen, King of Oude. New York: Redfield. One volume, pp. 246. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington.

This Rajah of OUDE, which was once a portion of the Mogul Empire, is now a pensioner of Great Britain, and in point of power resembles, we presume, the *King of the Mosquitoes*, who has become of late a personage of some consequence. The story of this Eastern Prince is calculated to destroy the dreams of our childhood, derived from the Arabian Nights of Eastern magnificence. *

THE IRISH ABROAD AND AT HOME; at the Court, and in the Camp; with Souvenirs of the Brigade. New York: D. Appleton & Co. One Volume, pp. 355. For sale by Robert Farnham, Washington, D. C.

This is a very pleasant book. It is what its title tells of it. These "Reminiscences of an Emigrant Milesian" of his famous countrymen, is full of amusing anecdote, and written with a most happy abandon of all method. He has adopted for one of his mottoes, these words, from Fielding's Tom Jones: "Reader, I think proper, before we proceed any further together, to acquaint thee that I intend to digress, through this whole history, as often as I see occasion." Accordingly, in chapter 12, upon the son of Gen. Lally, page 67, we have an anecdote of Fox and Sheridan, who, on their way to the House of Commons one evening, agreed to go, after adjournment, to Bellamy's, the refreshment saloon of the House of Commons, and have a carouse. "Very well," said Fox, "Let us have a game on the road. He who utters the stupidest joke, or makes the worst pun, before we reach St. Stephen's, shall be excused paying his share of the wine. "Agreed," said his companions, Sheridan, and Plowden the historian. The trio had nearly reached Northumberland House, and Fox had not opened his lips. Suddenly a porter, with a hare dangling in his hand, rushed into the centre of the party, in order to avoid a passing carriage, and nearly upset Fox. "I beg your pardon," said the man. "No harm done, my friend," replied Fox, "but may I take the liberty of asking you, if that be your own *hare*, or a wig?" Sheridan and Plowden "gave in," without further contest.

It is full of anecdote, and to us many of them are new, and of sparkling interest. They meet you, like a friend turning a corner, unexpectedly, and to your delight; for, as we have before said, there is no method adopted by the author to prevent him from following the impulse of the moment in any direction his humor takes him; but he never runs off without taking the reader along with him, who is always repaid for the excursion he is called upon to make. *

THE BUSH-BOYS; or, the History and Adventures of a Cape Farmer and his Family in the Wild Karoos of Southern Africa. By Captain Mayne Reid. With twelve illustrations. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. One volume, pp. 356. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington.

This is another of those attractive books which boys delight so much to read, full of adventures with wild animals and wild men, and in the telling of which Captain Reid manages to make his readers acquainted with natural history and the history of the races where his story is placed. There are twelve admirable pictures to this volume, illustrative of the scenes described. *

JACKSON AND NEW ORLEANS. An authentic Narrative of the Memorable Achievements of the American Army under General Jackson before New Orleans, in the winter of 1814-'15. By Alexander Walker. New York; J. C. Derby. One volume, pp. 411. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

Forty years has elapsed since the victory of General Jackson closed the war with England. It was the crowning glory of American arms, and has been followed by most important consequences to the country, not then within the prescience of man. The victory of New Orleans has eventuated in the dynasty of General Jackson. But without looking into this book from any other stand-point than the history of the event itself, it is a contribution to the history of the country. The author has shown great diligence and care in presenting all the incidents which preceded and took place in the great battle of the 8th of January, 1815. He has carefully preserved the names of all the actors in this campaign, and has presented a volume which cannot fail to interest the public, especially those young hearts who love to live over the perilous events of their country's history. *

THE MYSTIC, and other Poems. By Philip James Bailey, author of "Festus." One vol., pp. 150. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington.

"Politicians," says Taper, in D'Israeli's "*New Crusade*," "care for nothing so much as to have a good cry with which to open a campaign;" and authors are usually very anxious about a good title, and nothing is so much sought for by those literary gentlemen who make fortunes by selling books, as a "taking *titlepage*." Now, we think Mr. Bailey has not been fortunate in his subjects. We have the *Mystic* for the first poem, and a "Spiritual Legend" for the second. The web of both are alike mystical, and they will be read because they are written by the "author of 'Festus.'" The scheme and aim of this last poem is not unlike the end and aim of "Festus," and is thus expressed on page 138:

"And when, i' th' end,
Unnumbered times, duration unbethought,
Have passed, shall God (His name be ever blessed
And sanctified) another world causate;
The powers of all spirits shall aggrandize;
Make them wise, happy, humble, good, content;
In every thought, design, desire, shall reign,
And glorify Himself unboundedly;
Into their hands* all mortal destinies give,
And bid them rule and bless, wherever stretch His skies.

* The angels. †

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY. The Adventures of my Cousin Smooth. By Timothy Templeton, of Tewksbury. New York and Auburn: Miller, Orton, & Mulligan; New York, 25 Park Row. 1856.

Demagoguism is the besetting vice of Republics; and the United States being the greatest Republic which the world has ever seen, (for the Republic of Rome was confined, even in its palmiest days, to the city walls,) is more afflicted by it than any other, since the beginning of time. It is only in moments of real peril that the best men are brought to the surface of society, while these "piping times of peace" are characterized by the ascendency of mercenary partisans, whose sole ambition is to wear the titles of official station, vaunt themselves on their brief authority, and revel in the spoils.

It is unlucky for the honor of the country, that the political vermin are not content with the monopoly of domestic honors, but insist on going to foreign lands for the exhibition of their emptiness and vanity. For years past, intelligent Americans have deplored the low standard of character and attainments required of our National representatives abroad, many of whom, by their dissipated habits and vulgar manners, have brought dishonor upon the name of American.

Our author has rendered a valuable service to his country by his admirable satire upon the diplomatic vice and folly to which we have referred.

The reader will be particularly amused and instructed by the chapters devoted to the Ostend Congress, and to the ingenious method which has been discovered for the payment of diplomatic debts. We regret that our narrow limits forbid the making extensive extracts from these humorous sketches. There may be different opinions as to the merits of some of the earlier chapters of the book; but we cannot be mistaken in characterizing those above referred to, and some others, particularly the accounts of the Mixed Commission, and the dinner at Mr. Peabody's, as decidedly rich and racy. Every genuine American will enjoy the most scathing rebuke which the pen of the satirist can give to the vulgar snobism which presumes to represent us officially at the Courts of Europe. **

FROM KANSAS.—*Chicago, Feb.* 26.—The *Missouri Democrat* has three letters from Kansas, dated 14th, 15th, and 18th, indicating the probable renewal of hostilities on the 4th of March, which is the time fixed for the inauguration of the new State officers.

Judge Elmore has advised the officers elect not to take the oath of office, as to do so will be treason. Robinson declares that he will take the oath of office, if he is hanged the same hour.

The merchants of Kansas publish an appeal to the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce to use their influence to prevent further incursions into the Territory, as they will be obliged to open avenues of trade with the East, through other States, if their trade through Missouri continues to be interrupted.

THE LAKE SUPERIOR COPPER MINES.—A letter from the Lake Superior copper mines, under date of January 8, says: "The amount of copper in expectancy from all the mines in the country during the coming year will not vary much from five thousand seven hundred tons, of seventy per cent. copper, or about one thousand tons more than the produce of the past year, while the expenses for this year will not much, if any, exceed those of the past season."

GOVERNOR GARDNER, OF MASSACHUSETTS, in compliance with a request of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, has at last laid before it the communication from the friends of the Free State movement in Kansas. His plea for withholding it, on the ground that it had no official character, none but a Hunker would have thought of.

THE ANTI-KNOW NOTHING TICKET for municipal officers in the late election in Georgetown, D. C., prevailed by majorities ranging from eight to forty votes.

FROM KANSAS.

LEAVENWORTH CITY, *Feb.* 6, 1856.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Since the butchery of Reese P. Brown, on the 17th ultimo, the Border Ruffians have made no special onslaught on the Free State men. But they hold over us continually the threat of extermination, and several of our friends, who are particularly obnoxious to them, have been obliged to flee for their lives. It is reported that the Free State settlers in the vicinity of the town of Atchison have been warned to leave their claims by the 15th of this month. This is understood to be for the purpose of making room for Davy Atchison and his comrades, who are about to settle there. The "law and order men" across the Missouri river, swear that they are coming over "to clear out all the Abolitionists" as soon as there is grass enough for their mules to graze. If they will only wait till that time, I hope there will be preparations made to give them a warm reception. On the 4th instant, Atchison made his long-adventured Kansas speech at Platte City. The meeting only consisted of about two hundred. No Pro-Slavery men were there from this place, and but very few persons from Weston. There was a great deal of hard swearing, but no cheering, and no enthusiasm in the crowd.

We have had the substance of the speech in his printed letters. He said he should lead fifteen thousand men into the Territory, and the meeting of the new Legislature, on the 4th of March, is to be the signal for war. Then will the Legislature and its abettors be visited with fire and sword. He seriously assured his hearers that fifty Missourians, with shot guns, could whip two hundred of the Kansas River Yankees with Sharpe's rifles. Unless Congress does something for us, there will be shed the blood of American citizens in resisting these invaders. But let not Free State emigrants expect to see an army of fifteen thousand "Ruffians" invade the Territory. We hope to see these emigrants come in crowds this spring, and they will surely be disappointed, if they believe all that Atchison says in regard to his military force.

We want adventurous men here, who love the cause of Freedom, and are not afraid to incur danger in its defence. The New England settlers have shown that they have breathed the air of Lexington and Bunker Hill; and I could point out another class of men, who are just the sort for this country. You, sir, know them well. They were your early co-laborers in Ohio and Western Pennsylvania. I mean the descendants of the Scotch, and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. I am not of them by birth or creed, but I know them to be as zealous for Freedom as their fathers were for the solemn League and Covenant, and they are brave men, too. I think not many of them have come hither, but they are wanted here. How gladly would we welcome whole congregations of them, with ministers and elders. Let the Germans also come by thousands. They do not say much; but when it comes to voting, every ballot that they cast is thrown for Freedom.

Buchanan county, Missouri, has just organized an Emigrant Aid Society, and it is reported that twelve hundred dollars have been subscribed to its funds, for the purpose of promoting Slavery here. It is said that other counties on the border are adopting a like course. Hence our friends will see that it is to be no child's play to establish and secure free institutions here.

A memorial has lately been presented to the Nebraska Legislature, in favor of annexing the part of that Territory lying south of the Platte river to Kansas. The principal reasons given for this project are, first: The Platte cannot be bridged nor forded, and hence seems to be the natural boundary of a State. Second: The memorialists say the great question of the day is, "Will Kansas be free?" and such annexation would determine that question irrevocably in the affirmative. On the other hand, I have previously understood that such a move was on foot, in the hope of securing South Nebraska for Slavery.

In see the President, in his late message, has gone over horse and foot to the side of the Border Ruffians. He says it is his duty to enforce the local and national laws in the Territory; then he has shamelessly neglected his duty. Has not the property of our citizens been destroyed? Have not two of our neighbors been shot down, and another butchered in in cold blood with a tomahawk? These murderers and burglars walk abroad unmolested; no effort is made to bring them to justice. If the President in his oath of office virtually swore to enforce the laws in Kansas, does he not stand before God a perjured man? The Government of President Pierce, in this Territory, has been no Government for the body of our citizens. Our friends are murdered in the one case by one of his Indian agents; in other cases, in the vicinity of other of his officers; others are fired upon and wounded; others driven from their homes—and neither he nor his subordinates do anything to secure the ends of justice. But when we propose to establish a Government, which will protect our lives and property, he comes forth with a message, and declares that such a course is revolutionary and treasonable, and threatens us with the sword and gibbet. Our hope is in Congress. We ask to be defended from robbers and assassins, or else that we be permitted to defend ourselves. Is the request unreasonable?

C. P. SHULTZ.

FROM MEXICO.

The New Orleans papers have intelligence from the city of Mexico to the 5th instant, and from Vera Cruz to the 11th. These advices, however, furnish nothing that is new. They confirm the reports heretofore published of the capture of Puebla by the band of revolutionists under Col. Hayro y Tamariz, who entered that city on the 24th of January. Tamariz had with him about 2,400 men, and the papers say that he will certainly be compelled to evacuate Puebla by the troops, 4,000 in number, which have been sent against him by President Comonfort. Gen. Uraga had been defeated in Sierra Gorda, and the most of his followers had passed over to the Government. The affair was almost bloodless. The city of Mexico is being fortified, and placed in a condition to withstand an assault, if one should be made upon it. Public affairs are represented to be in a worse condition than ever before known, even in that distracted country.

IMPORTANT FROM NICARAGUA.—*New York, February* 28.—The steamer Star of the West, from Nicaragua, arrived this morning.

On the 10th inst. a decree was promulgated at the city of Grenada, by Gen. Walker, annexing the whole Mosquito territory as an integral portion of Nicaragua. Shortly afterward the Diplomatic Corps, headed by Col. Kinney, arrived from San Juan, and had an audience with Gen. Walker. On the following day, Col. Kinney was placed under arrest, and subsequently banished the territory of Nicaragua, and sent, under the charge of Mayor Martin, to the Atlantic seaboard. The Star of the West passed, on the 2d instant, the sloop of war Cyane.

BREAKING UP IN THE WEST.—Much damage has been done already, and more is apprehended, from the breaking up of the ice in the Western rivers. At Cincinnati, some dozen steamers have been sunk, and several others seriously injured. The destruction of property is stated at $100,000. The ice gorged above St. Louis moved in huge masses at 8 o'clock on the night of the 26th ultimo. Six or eight steamers were sunk, and fourteen others carried down the river, some of them greatly damaged. The loss of property is very heavy.

SUPPOSED SAFETY OF THE PACIFIC.—*Halifax, Feb.* 29.—The passengers by the America report having seen on Tuesday, the 19th February, a Collins steamer, heading towards the English channel, with a signal of distress flying—probably the Pacific returning. The Baltic arrived out on the 13th, so that the Pacific is the only Collins steamer which could have been in that locality at the time specified.

ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION CONVENED AT PITTSBURGH.

The gentlemen named, being loudly called for, responded as follows:

Charles Reemelin.

Cries of "Reemelin," "Reemelin," brought Mr. Reemelin, of Ohio, to the stand. He felt a degree of embarrassment in addressing the Convention, as to what he should say. He wished to give a few simple ideas on what he considered the main issues involved in the coming Presidential campaign. One of these, more important than the one mentioned in the various discussions to-day—for it lay at the basis—was, that the People should rebuke the official insolence of their accidental President. The Administration in Washington had started out with the intention to crush Liberty and the People of the United States. He thought it important one plank of the platform to be adopted should be the diminution of the patronage of the Executive; that the President should cease to be the regulator of newspapers; the only source of honor and emolument. And not only should this patronage be taken away, but the powers and functions of the General Government should be diminished. For it was perfectly plain that, if in the course of twenty years the expenses of the Government had risen from fifteen millions to fifty millions, and in every Presidential contest three or four hundred millions should be fixed as a prey for the country, we cannot long have peaceful times. The President should be rebuked for interfering, not only in general elections, but in State, and even in township elections. The power of appointing postmasters, who are located in every city, town, and village, in the country, should be taken away. All possible temptation should be removed from the Executive.

He would allude to another great point, in addition to the subject just treated of. They had erred in permitting the South to charge sectionalism upon them. He would have it impressed upon the public mind that the General Government was guided by one idea, and that was Sectionalism. [Cheers.] He would not say to the South, we wish to establish a North, but that he objected to the exclusive establishment of the South. He wanted a party that recognised no North, no South, no East, no West; but Freedom everywhere, in every State and Territory. He meant that to be his guiding star; but he also held that the foreign policy of the Government should be for the whole country, and not for one interest or labor alone. He thought facts and arguments innumerable exist in history, that the South has always endeavored to force the foreign policy to their behests. This had its original in the letter of John C. Calhoun to Lord Aberdeen. The Democratic party had been induced to adopt Slavery. He hoped to show the world, when they had elected a Republican President, that Slavery is only temporary.

The speaker referred to the subject of popular sovereignty, and to Pierce's course on the Kansas question. The stand taken by the Executive was such as Napoleon Bonaparte employed to enforce his claims to the Empire. According to Pierce, he was right. Why, whoever heard of popular sovereignty abolishing itself and establishing empire? Napoleon the Little followed his uncle's example, and was chosen Emperor by French votes. If he had not been elected, he would have done as Pierce is doing in Kansas—attempt to force it down the throats of the people with arms. He had had a conversation with a slaveholder, who was about emigrating to Kansas. He was complaining he advocated popular sovereignty. The speaker opposed the Kansas bill, and asked the reason. "Sir," he replied, "you are going to Kansas with fifteen slaves; are you willing that the popular vote shall decide whether you shall hold your slaves or not?" "You must be a fool," was the reply. "Then, sir, if you will not allow the question of property to be voted upon, I will not that of human rights." [Applause.] The Southern man argued sensibly. It was never pretended that popular sovereignty should prohibit Slavery, but establish it, or it never would have been given a chance.

The Democratic orators and Pierce seem to assert that the framers of the United States Constitution did what Congress, in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the passage of the Kansas bill, had done. He would see what there was in such a fool doctrine. In the Convention, the question as to Slavery was this: Slaveholders knew that, under this clause relative to the commerce of the States, Congress had the power to abolish the slave trade, and they therefore introduced a clause that Congress should not pass such a law till 1808. Now, in that Convention, Washington, the great man whose birthday was celebrated today by the starting of a new race of freemen, [cheers,] of whom to be asked why he was venerated would be an insult, and he must admit that the boisterous applause with which his memory is greeted was inappropriate—Washington, Madison, Franklin, and Jefferson, were in that Convention—men who understood perfectly the functions and powers of Government—with whom jealousy of power was the great idea. They fixed a certain time, and then abolished the slave trade, on the great principle that it was wrong. In accordance with the idea of popular sovereignty, Congress should now call upon the Southern States to say at the ballot-box whether the slave trade should be abolished—to South Carolina! But they themselves would refuse to do so, because they know it would be wrong.

Why did he, (the speaker,) with the above principles, deny the right of the people to decide for or against Slavery? Because the Constitution said that man had certain inalienable rights. He did not hold his rights at the beck of Ohio, or any other State. No human authority could make the traffic in blood right. [Cheers.]

The eloquent gentleman referred to the power by which Slavery exists at all. It was prescription, and not by statutory enactment.

He referred, with hesitancy, to the subject of Americanism. He hoped the Convention would not go into the fight without an explicit statement of where they stand on this question. He was a foreigner by birth; and the hardest thing he had to complain of was, that he had to ask himself whether he was an American.

The response was right. He was an American. [Cheers.] The same question was asked of every man born abroad.

Malone Raymond, (the Irish comedian.) What right have you to be born abroad? [Great laughter.]

That was true. A man had no right to be born abroad. This question had separated hearts that never were anything but American. This question was as tender and as delicate as the Slavery question to the South, and was as likely to end in the same evils. He knew that the honest Catholic had turned with fresh zeal to their religion, and their children, who have formerly been in attendance upon Protestants, had been taken away. The persecution proved itself a folly, for it froze up, where a different policy would have expanded a proper feeling.

With some few remarks upon the questionable taste of throwing discredit upon a Legislature which had just gained a Republican victory, the gentleman concluded.

On the second day of the Convention, and immediately after the address and declaration of principles, presented by the Committee on Resolutions, had been read—

Mr. Reemelin stepped forward, and in reply to some one near him, who begged him to let the question be taken, commenced by saying: "No! I have a duty to perform, and I will do it fearlessly!" He then continued:

The resolutions and platform as just read, if I can judge them from the cursory reading, I approve as far as they go. There may appear on closer scrutiny some shades of differences, but in the main the principles set forth are right. There is, however, an omission, both in the address and resolutions, which I deplore. I allude to the total absence of any allusion to the Know Nothing question. There is in the address something about the alien and sedition laws; but I have not been able to see, during the reading, much force in it.

Whether it is wise thus to ignore one of the great questions of the day, and to confine your political action to *one* subject, is a question of policy, in which I have my opinion, you have yours. I am in the minority, and I do not expect to change the result by the remarks I am making.

This much, however, is certain: your omission to speak out on the so-called "American" question hardens the task to every adopted citizen in alienating himself from his old party, and affiliating with yours. You, Mr. President, know how severe a struggle it costs a heart loyal and faithful as yours is to Democracy, to tear itself away from *the* organization which, presuming upon its prestige, is now suffering itself to be ruled by old Whigs, and the meanest of them at that—a party in which true Democrats are now step-children, because Federalism now rules the household; but severe as that struggle may be to you to decide upon—leaving the mere Democratic outer garment—that struggle is aggravated for every adopted citizen, because the party to him has been, not only the embodiment of his principles, it was to him the bulwark of his social and political rights as a citizen and a man. You, sir, and I, know why the German vote has been cast, almost as a unit, for the Democratic nominees; and we know the influences which have drawn the adopted citizens, in mass, to the Democratic organization, or rather, let me say, the prejudices which have repelled them from the other party.

This state of things was an unnatural one. It prevented—and in a Republic this is of the very first importance—those influences which make men, generally, become Democrats or conservatives, according to natural, educational, or social causes, from having their legitimate effect upon the adopted citizen. This I have ever regretted, because I foresaw the ill consequences which would flow from such a state of politics. It has bred Know Nothingism, and it has embittered native prejudices. It has drawn upon unoffending inhabitants the wrath of politicians.

I had hoped that the great principles of Liberty, which shine out so cheeringly out of your address and platform, would have induced you to speak out without reserve, upon the Native American question; and that, henceforth, false Americanism would be dead, and that in its stead would rise pure and liberal Republicanism, and that it would occupy such a position as would permit the adopted citizen to adopt or reject his political party, from the same general reasoning which influences the native citizen.

I have no threats to make, and shall not presume to speak for the Germans of the United States. Whether the old influences are to continue, which give such strength to the Democratic party; or whether the adopted citizens will, with generous confidence, overlook your silence; and whether, trusting to the glorious principles contained in the address, they will say to themselves, "the warmth of truth, liberty, and right, which animates every line, cannot come from the hearts of narrow nativists," is not for me to say. This I do know: that however dark the mind may be, one ray of light, one great, honest principle, will, if thoroughly adopted, regenerate it, by ultimately driving out the bad principles which had prevailed in it; and, in this sense, I am free to say that the applause, which I saw was sincere, with which the principles of the address were cheered by many who were well known to be members of the "*Order*," has given me a hope and a faith that the spirit of freedom, of liberality, and of humanity, will, since it has entered their hearts, work out their purification, and drive out of them the unhealthy, illiberal fogs and mists of Know Nothingism.

I shall have to report upon the proceedings of this Convention to my constituents. I shall reflect long and well upon all I have seen. I will not anticipate my own decision, nor that of my constituents; but of this you may be assured, we will decide without prejudice, as sober reason shall dictate.

You may ask me why I do not offer an amendment to the address or the resolutions. I answer, because I am too proud to beg as a favor, what I claim as a right. I want no resolutions which spring from mere policy. I would not now accept any Anti-Know Nothing plank in your platform. We, adopted citizens, do not want liberal paper resolutions; we want a liberality which is a conviction and an honest sentiment, and not one which emanates from expediency. To now add anything to your platform, after the remarks made by me, would lay you open to the suspicions and doubts of both the adopted and the native citizens.

In conclusion, let me say, that when I speak of German citizens and German voters, I feel always the misapprehension to which it lays me, and the Germans generally, open. Do not misunderstand us. We are Germans by birth, Americans by choice. We never shall forget our native homes—we love, we venerate them—but we love, too, with equal tenderness, the land of Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson. Bitter prejudices force upon us the necessity of speaking of ourselves as Germans. The distinction was made by others, before it was made by us; and we will hail, as an augury of better days, the time when, socially and politically, all will act upon the motto of "*Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.*" Then, Native Americans will see, in a German's love of his fatherland and of his native language, no bar to his being an American, and to his being a co-patriot. Then, too, the native German will see in Native Americans only fellow-citizens, with whom he differs only in the accident of birth, but with whom he agrees in loving and promoting the welfare of a common country.

LATE EUROPEAN INTELLIGENCE.

Halifax, Feb. 29.—The steamer America, from Liverpool on Saturday, the 16th instant, has arrived at this port. Her advices are one week later than those by the Asia at New York on Sunday last.

There was still some excitement in England with regard to American affairs, but the feeling was not general. The news of the appointment of Mr. Dallas as American Minister to London had produced a good effect in calming the fears of war, consequent on the proposed withdrawal of Mr. Buchanan.

In the British House of Commons, on the 15th February, a debate occurred, in which Mr. Roebuck called attention to the relations of England with the United States. He moved the production of the correspondence on the subject; but he desired first a specific answer to the question, "What instructions were given to Mr. Crampton?" He next wished an expression of opinion, on the part of the House, that they were no parties to the violation of the laws of the United States. Mr. Harding seconded the motion, and Lord Palmerston defended the Government, stating that the correspondence would be provided as soon as the last dispatch of the American Government was answered. He then uttered a fierce invective against Roebuck, styling him the mouthpiece of calumnies uttered in the United States, and as holding a brief from the enemy. Lord Palmerston deprecated a war with America, and was persuaded that the interest of both countries was inseparably bound up with the continuance of friendly relations.

A Liverpool correspondent gives a rumor that the Derby and Gladstone parties each had held secret meetings to consider the course to be pursued respecting American difficulties. The Derbyites decided to support Palmerston, in order to rescue English honor from Republican insult. The Gladstone party resolved to endeaaor to do all in their power to shun a rupture with the United States.

The Peace Congress was to meet in Paris the week succeeding the departure of the steamer America. The non-arrival of Count Buol and Ali Pasha was expected to delay the opening of the Congress till probably the 21st of March, but they were daily expected. It was said that Austria and France both wished the admission of Prussia to the Conferences, but Palmerston positively refused. A Vienna correspondent of the *Times* asserts that France and Austria have an understanding as to the fifth point, and that England will be outvoted in the Conference, if she attempts to make a *sine qua non* of disarming the eastern coast of the Black Sea. France and Austria are likely to concur with England as to the non-fortification of the Aland Isles, and will insist on the admission of consuls in all the ports of the Black Sea; but neither France nor Austria considered the razing of the Russian forts on the Circassian coasts as demanded by the interests of Europe. Austria does not consider Nicolaieff as a Black Sea port. The London *Times* betrays some anxiety as to England's success in the approaching Congress.

The Allies had exploded the last dock at Sebastopol. Fort Nicholas had been mined. Five English regiments were preparing to return. The French army had received the news of peace with great dissatisfaction. On the 29th of January, six Russian boats had attempted a surprise from the Northern side, but were repulsed by the French. The peace news had caused much excitement in the Russian army, and the preparations being made for an attack on General Dantemarre's division were discontinued.

Vienna letters state that the negotiations relative to the Principalities were still uncertain, Austria and France differing from England as to the propriety of according representative institutions. It is said the point will be reserved for settlement at Paris, after the treaty is signed.

The Russians had evacuated the Turkish port of Armenia, and retired to Erivan.

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

Flour is dull, at a decline of 6*d*. per barrel. Corn had declined 1*s*. per quarter. Pork was quiet, at 80*s*. for mess. Beef was quiet, and prices a trifle lower. Bacon had declined 3*s*. @ 4*s*. per cwt.

The London money market was more stringent. Consols closed at 90⅛ @ 90¼.

THREE DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

New York, March 4.—The Collins steamer Baltic arrived at Sandy Hook early this forenoon, with three days later dates from Europe. Her news comprises nothing of striking importance.

The Baltic left Liverpool on the 20th of February.

The Peace Conference was to meet at Paris on the 23d. The envoys had all arrived, and confidence in the establishment of peace had been restored.

The excitement upon the American question had subsided.

A large force of British troops is to be concentrated in Canada.

The Baltic arrived at her dock at 11 o'clock A. M.

The Africa arrived out on the 18th.

The *London Times* announces that the 80th Regiment and several battalions of Rifles were about to be dispatched to Canada; and that several other regiments will follow, so as to concentrate a powerful military force in that province. It is rumored that almost every regiment attached to the home service has received intimations that their services may be required in Canada.

The money market continues extremely tight—the demand being in excess of the supply. The new loan of five million pounds sterling is announced. Consols improved upon the announcement of the new loan to 91¼, but afterwards declined to 90½@90⅝, at which quotations closed. The Rothschilds, it is said, propose taking the new loan.

Much gossip is in circulation about the Peace Conference. Baron Brunow is reported to have said that Russia sincerely desires peace; but if peace is not made within three or four weeks, at farthest, from the opening of the Conference, serious difficulties may interfere with the final settlement of the question.

Lord Clarendon had a private interview with the Emperor Napoleon immediately after his arrival at Paris.

The Duke of Norfolk is dead.

A mulatto girl was found secreted on board the ship Asterian, which arrived at Liverpool from New Orleans.

France.—An article in the *Assemblee Nationale*, touching the defensive works being constructed at Portsmouth, in England, has elicited some remark, and is looked upon as an exhibition of French jealousy.

Asia.—On the 5th of January, six battalions of Russians surprised a battalion of Turks near Zudgdidi. The latter retreated, leaving their guns and baggage. The Russians subsequently burned the Pasha's Palace and several villages.

Russia.—Grand Duke Nicholas, a brother of the Czar, has been married to Alexander Petrons, the Princess of Oldenburg.

THE AMERICAN STATE COUNCIL. — *Canandaigua, Feb.* 27.—A large number of delegates arrived here yesterday afternoon and evening, and more are expected to-day. It is thought the Convention will not adjourn until to-morrow.

The statement that was made at Philadelphia, that Mr. Fillmore was not a member, was flatly contradicted by the President of Council No. 177, of Buffalo, who grave the assurance that he himself was present when the obligation of each of the degrees was administered to Mr. Fillmore, and that he is a member of the Order in good standing.

Great enthusiasm prevails among the Order in this section.

TRAINS BLOCKED UP BY SNOW.—*Springfield, Mass., Feb.* 19.—The recent snow storm, in blocking up the railroad, has caused the utmost confusion in the trains. An immense snow bank on Long Meadow detained some of the trains all night. Nine engines, with the trains congregated, succeeded in forcing a passage this morning.

ILLINOIS ANTI-NEBRASKA STATE CONVENTION. *Chicago, Feb.* 26.—The Illinois Anti-Nebraska State Convention, to nominate candidates for State officers, to be elected next fall, has been designated to meet at Bloomington on the 23d of May.

COL. FREMONT'S LAND CLAIM.—*Washington, Feb* 19.—Col Fremont's warrant for the Mariposa tract of land in California was argued today by the Land Commissioner.

TUESDAY IN CONGRESS.

Mr. Trumbull's case was again discussed in the Senate.

In the House, the Deficiency Bill was lost; and, on a motion to reconsider, a long and tedious debate arose.

READ THIS!

BALTIMORE, *December* 18.

DEAR SIR: I feel it to be due to you to say that a young lady, a member of my family, had been suffering for several years under a bronchial affection, and the disease had made such progress, notwithstanding the best medical aid had been consulted, that great fears were entertained that the disease with her, as with so many others, might speedily terminate in death. I was induced, through the persuasion of a friend, to try your Dr. *Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry*; and after she had taken three bottles, she felt entirely relieved of the attack.

Very respectfully, yours,
J. F. McJILTON.

Dr. SETH W. FOWLE, *Boston, Mass.*

If genuine, signed I. BUTTS.

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From the Boston Olive Branch.

Among the many popular medicines which have acquired a high reputation, we believe none have been found of much benefit for Dyspepsia, Asthma, and similar complaints, till the *Oxygenated Bitters*, by many and various trials and experiments, has been found a sure and radical remedy—a *desideratum* long desired by physicians. Its ingredients have been shown by chemical analysis to be harmless and safe; and, from the testimonials of many of our first citizens who have been benefited by it, we feel assured that those indisposed with the above complaints can rely upon these Bitters with safety.

These celebrated Bitters have received the highest testimonials ever offered in favor of any medicine.

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BROWN'S BRONCHIAL TROCHES,

For the alleviation of

Bronchitis, Hoarseness, Coughs, Asthma, Colds, and similar affections of the throat.

THERE are no particular directions to be observed in the use of these Lozenges; they can be used according to the severity of the case. By taking one or two previous to the exercise of speaking or singing, and the same quantity after such exercise, Public Speakers and Vocalists will find these Troches serviceable in *clearing the voice*, and allaying any *irritation of the throat*, whether produced by cold or unusual exertion of the vocal organs.

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SEWING MACHINES,

THESE Machines operate upon an entirely new principle, using no shuttle, but one needle, and two threads. They have been in operation in the hands of families and manufacturers sufficiently long to give them a thorough trial, and have given entire satisfaction.

They are very simple in construction, and highly ornamental as well as useful, fitted to adorn a lady's parlor, or occupy a less conspicuous position in the shop of the artisan.

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HARPER'S STORY BOOKS FOR MARCH.

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The publishers will supply specimen numbers gratuitously to agents and postmasters, and will make liberal arrangements with them for circulating the work. They will also supply clubs of two persons at five dollars a year, or five persons at ten dollars. Clergymen and teachers supplied at two dollars a year. Numbers from the commencement can be supplied. Also, the bound volumes.

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Once introduced into the family circle, these books will ever be welcome visitants, eagerly looked for by our young friends. Every improvement in the typographic and xylographic arts is made to contribute to their embellishment.—*Detroit Free Press.*

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CHAPTER IX. Little Mother.
CHAPTER X. Containing the Whole Science of Government.
CHAPTER XI. Let Loose.
MONTHLY RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.
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Books of the Month.
EDITOR'S TABLE.
EDITOR'S EASY CHAIR.
EDITOR'S DRAWER.
WINDOLOGY.
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WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN KANSAS.

SPEECH OF HON. HENRY WILSON,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

In the Senate, February 18, 1856.

A message from the President of the United States was received by the Senate, enclosing a report from the Secretary of State, on the existing state of affairs in Kansas.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Toucey] closes his speech with the assumption, that there may be those in the country who do not wish the President to preserve order; and he is pleased to say that, if the Executive does so, their "vocation" will be gone. Let me say to the Senator from Connecticut, that the "vocation" of those to whom he alludes is not fawning, abject servility to power. No, sir, they do not

—"bend to power, and lap its milk."

If the Senator from Connecticut alludes to those who have opposed the uncalled-for and wanton repeal of the Missouri prohibition; if he alludes to those who condemn the policy of the Administration in Kansas; if he intends to charge the intelligent, patriotic men who sympathize with the wronged and outraged people of Kansas, bravely struggling to preserve their firesides and altars, their property and lives, against the armed aggressions of lawless invasions from Missouri, with a disposition to violate or resist the laws of the country, or to cherish sectional animosity and strife, he makes a charge unsupported by even the shadow of truth; and here, and now to his face, and before the Senate and the country, I pronounce the charge utterly unfounded. If he intends, sir, to insinuate a charge of that character against me, I promptly meet it, and here and now before the Senate I brand it as it deserves.

The Senator from Connecticut, with an air of confident assurance, calls for facts. Evidently possessed with the vast knowledge embodied in these documents sent here by the Executive, the Senator assumes the air and tone of one entitled to speak by authority, and he invites us to deal in facts. Sir, he shall have facts; for it so happens that the friends of those who are struggling in Kansas to protect their lives, their property, their all, against unauthorized power and lawless violence, know something of the facts which have transpired there. All knowledge, sir, of affairs in Kansas is not in the keeping of the Executive and his Senator from Connecticut. The tree of knowledge, sir, was not planted in the Executive garden; and I sometimes think, if it had been, its forbidden fruits would have been more secure than were the fruits of that tree plucked by our first parents.

The Senator from Connecticut commends us to the consideration of this correspondence; and the Senator from California [Mr. Weller] asks us to print ten thousand extra copies of it, to be scattered broadcast over the land. I now say—and I can establish what I say before any committee of investigation, so that no man can question the declaration—that this correspondence utterly and totally misstates and misrepresents the state of affairs in Kansas. These documents, sir, are made up of telegraphic dispatches, of letters, of statements, of orders, written by Governor Shannon and others, on the rumors of the hour, in a large Territory, at a time when the people were deeply agitated by all sorts of reports that flew over the land in rapid succession. We are called upon now to publish these rumors—rumors that turned out to be exaggerated or false—rumors recognised and admitted to be false by the Governor of the Territory, in his conversation and in his treaty with the citizens of Lawrence. Yes, sir, the Senate is now called upon to print and send over the country, as official documents, these stupendous misrepresentations of facts. They will carry a gigantic falsehood to the American people. He who reads only these documents has no accurate knowledge, no true conception, of the actual condition of affairs in Kansas at the time covered by them.

The year of 1854 opened upon a vast territory, lying in the heart of the continent, extending from thirty-six degrees thirty minutes on the south, to the possessions of the British Queen on the north; from the borders of Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota, on the east, to the summits of the Rocky Mountains on the west. Over that territory, larger than the empire of Napoleon when, at the head of the grand army, he gazed upon that "ocean of flame" that wrapt the minarets, turrets, and towers, of the ancient capital of the Czars, the Republic, on the 6th of March, 1820, engraved in letters of living light the sacred words, "Slavery shall be and is forever prohibited!" Slavery, with hungry gaze, glared upon the forest and prairie, hill and mountain, lake and river, of that magnificent region it was forever forbidden to enter. Fixing its glittering eye upon that paradise, consecrated by the nation to Freedom and free institutions for all, hallowed forever to free men and free labor, the Slave Power, in the person of the late President of the Senate, the soul of these border aggressions, demanded that this heritage of free labor should be opened to the withering footsteps of the bondman. Sir, with hot haste you grasped this domain of Freedom, and flung it to the Slave Propaganda. Sir, your Administration, in answer to the stern protest of the free laboring men of the country, whose heritage it was, mocked them with the delusive promise that the actual settlers were to shape, mould, and fashion the institutions of Kansas and Nebraska. Sir, two years have passed, and your "squatter sovereignty" is proved a delusion and a cheat. Laws, more inhuman than the code of Draco, forced upon the actual settlers of Kansas by armed invading hosts from Missouri, are now to be enforced by United States dragoons. The Constitution, framed by a Convention of the People, is spurned from the halls of Congress; the Convention that formed it is pronounced "spurious" by the Senator from Connecticut; and the people who ratified it are branded as traitors by the Administration and its subalterns.

By the theory of the Kansas-Nebraska act, Mr. President, the actual settlers were to decide the transcendent question, whether Freedom should bless, or Slavery curse, the virgin soil of those vast Territories lying in the central regions of the continent. The sons of the free States—of Puritan New England, of the great central States, and of the Northwest—men who call no man master, and who wish to make no man a slave, were invited to plant upon the soil of Kansas those institutions that have blessed, beautified, and adorned the homes of their childhood. The sons of the South—from regions once teeming with the rich fruits of fields, now blasted, blighted, and withered, by the sweat of untutored and unrewarded toil—were invited to plant, if they could, the institutions that had dishonored labor in their own native States, upon the unbroken soil of Kansas. Sir, the people of the North and the people of the South had a legal and moral right to go there, when they pleased, how they pleased, and with whom they pleased; in companies or in single families; under their own direction, or under the auspices of Emigrant Aid Societies, in the North or the South.

Sir, the honorable Senator from Missouri, [Mr. Geyer,] in his remarks the other day upon the resolution of inquiry submitted by me, made the extraordinary declaration that the "disorders" which he admits have existed on the borders "are to be attributed to an extraordinary organization, called an 'Emigrant Aid Society'—the first attempt in the history of this country to take possession of an organized Territory, and exclude from it the inhabitants of other portions of the Union." I am amazed that the Senator from Missouri should make such a declaration on the floor of the Senate. When and how did the "Emigrant Aid Society" "attempt to take possession of an organized Territory, and to exclude from it the inhabitants of other portions of the Union?" Will the Senator tell us when that "attempt" was made? Will he tell us where it was made? Will he tell us how it was made? Here and now I challenge the Senator to give us one single fact to sustain the declaration he has so unjustly made against men of stainless purity. The Senator avows that men from his State "have passed over the borders," but they have done so (he tells us) "to protect the ballot-box from the attempt of armed colonists to control the elections there." When and how were the ballot-boxes assailed by "armed colonists" from the North? I call upon the Senator from Missouri, I challenge any Senator, to furnish one fact, one single authenticated fact, to sustain this assumption.

Sir, the Emigrant Aid Society of New England has violated no law, human or divine. Standing here, sir, before the Senate and the country, I challenge the Senator from Missouri, or any other Senator, to furnish to the Senate one fact, one authenticated fact, to show that the Emigrant Aid Society has performed any illegal act, any act inconsistent with the obligations of patriotism, morality, or religion. Sir, the President of the United States has arraigned before the country these Emigrant Aid Societies. The organs of the Administration have assailed them, and now the Senator from Missouri here, on the floor of the Senate, renews the assault. Sir, I call upon, I defy any supporter of the Administration, any apologist of Atchison, Stringfellow, and their followers, to give us one act of the directors of the New England Emigrant Aid Society hostile to law, order, and peace. I know most of those gentlemen thus wantonly assailed, and I know them to be law-abiding, order-loving, conservative men. I defy the Senator from Missouri, the Senator from Connecticut, or the Chief Magistrate at the other end of the avenue, to show, here or elsewhere, that the Emigrant Aid Society ever violated a law of this country, or performed an act which could not receive the sanction of the laws of God and man. Sir, they have sent no paupers or criminals to Kansas. They have simply organized a system by which persons wishing to go to Kansas may go in small companies, and, by going together and starting at a particular time and place, may have the cost of their fare reduced about thirty-three per cent. This company has built a hotel in Kansas; has sent some saw-mills there; has aided in establishing schools and churches. That is the extent of their offence—no more, no less.

Mr. President, on the 29th of July, 1854, within sixty days after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, a meeting was called at Weston, Missouri, by the "Platte County Self-Defensive Association." Resolutions were adopted, declaring that the association, whenever called upon by any of the citizens of Kansas Territory, will hold itself in readiness to assist in removing any and all emigrants who go there under the auspices of the Northern Emigration Aid Societies.

Before the feet of the first emigrants who went there under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Society pressed the soil of Kansas, this "Platte County Self-Defensive Association," under the guidance of B. F. Stringfellow, proclaimed to the world its readiness to cross into Kansas and remove actual settlers from their new homes. Under the lead of this lawless association, other meetings were held in Western Missouri, and resolutions adopted in favor of carrying Slavery into Kansas, and in denunciation of emigrants from the free States who should go there under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Societies.

On the 9th of August, more than two months after the Kansas-Nebraska act was passed, a few persons went into that Territory from the East. They went there under the auspices of that society referred to the other day so unjustly by the Senator from Missouri. Early in the autumn of 1854, the Missouri guardians of Kansas crossed over into the Territory, and, by force of arms, endeavored to drive from their homes the few persons who had begun the little settlement at Lawrence. But these Platte County Association heroes found a little band of about thirty New England men, under the lead of Charles Robinson—the Miles Standish of Kansas—ready to meet the issue with powder and ball; and they retreated to their homes, preferring to live to fight another day.

The Senator from Connecticut referred with an air of triumph to the election which took place on the 29th day of November, 1854. On that day, Mr. Whitfield was elected—and triumphantly elected—a Delegate from that Territory. No one ever questioned the fact that he had *a majority of the legal voters of the Territory on that day*; but, in addition to that fact, men familiar with the Territory declare that he received the votes of more than one thousand inhabitants of Missouri, who crossed the line and voted on that occasion.

I hold in my hand, sir, a paper drawn up and signed by General Pomeroy—a gentleman of intelligence, of personal honor, whose veracity no man who knows him can ever question. From this memorial, addressed to Congress, I quote the following words concerning the election of the 29th of November, 1854:

"The first ballot-box that was opened upon our virgin soil was closed to us by overpowering numbers and impending force. So bold and reckless were our invaders, that they cared not to conceal their attack. They came upon us, not in the guise of voters, to steal away our franchise, but boldly and openly, to snatch it with a strong hand. They came directly from their own homes, and in compact and organized bands, with arms in hand and provisions for the expedition, marched to our polls, and, when their work was done, returned whence they came. It is unnecessary to enter into the details; it is enough to say that in three districts, in which, by the most irrefragable evidence, there were not one hundred and fifty voters, most of whom refused to participate in the mockery of the elective franchise, these invaders polled over a thousand votes."

An examination of details will reveal the extent of this fraud. In the seventh election district of Kansas, six hundred and four votes were cast on the 29th of November, 1854. Of these, Whitfield received five hundred and ninety-seven—all but seven. Three months afterwards the census was taken, and there were only fifty-three voters in the seventh district. Who went there to vote? Organized, armed, disciplined men from the State of Missouri; and all the votes but seven in that district were given for Mr. Whitfield. Does the Senator from Missouri call that "protecting the ballot-box against armed colonists?" In the eleventh district, on the same day, two hundred and thirty-seven votes were given. In February following, when the census was taken, there were but twenty-four voters in that district, which, three months before, had given Whitfield two hundred and thirty-seven votes—all but three of the whole number cast. And within thirty days after the census was taken, three hundred and twenty-eight votes were given in this district, having only twenty-four voters; yet the Senator from Missouri gravely informs the Senate that Missourians only crossed over the borders "to protect the ballot-boxes against armed colonists" sent there under the auspices of Emigrant Aid Societies. That these Missourians crossed the line and voted on that day for Whitfield, no one doubted; but he had a majority of the voters of the Territory, and *for that reason his election was not contested*. That is the answer to the Senator from Connecticut, who has built his argument on that fact.

The character of this invasion will appear in an extract from a speech made by one of these modern heroes, (General Stringfellow,) who, according to the Senator from Missouri, crosses over into Kansas "to protect the ballot-boxes from the armed colonists" from the free States. This speech was made just before the election of November 29, 1854, to which the Senator from Connecticut has referred with so much confidence, at *St. Joseph, Missouri*. In that speech, General Stringfellow said:

"I tell you to mark every scoundrel among you that is the least tainted with Free-Soilism or Abolitionism, and *exterminate* him. Neither give nor take quarter from the damned rascal. I propose to mark them in this house, and on the present occasion, so that you may CRUSH THEM OUT."

"Crush them out" is the language. You will remember, sir, that the Attorney General of the United States—a man who spent the dew of his youth and the vigor of his early manhood in assailing Democratic statesmen, and who is now giving the mature years of his life to undermining and perverting Democratic principles—sent an edict to Massachusetts, pending the election in 1853, that the President "was up to the occasion," and intended "to crush out the element of Abolitionism." General Stringfellow, like the President, is "up to the occasion." He has caught up the word of the Attorney General. He is going to mark the Free-Soilers, he says, that you may "crush them out." I think his success, sir, will be about equal to the success which followed the efforts of the President and General Cushing, in "crushing out the element of Abolitionism." The elections of the last two years have shown who is the crusher and who is the crushed. General Stringfellow continues:

"To those who have qualms of conscience as to violating laws, State or National, the time has come when such impositions must be disregarded, as your rights and property are in danger; *and I advise you, one and all, to enter every election district in Kansas, in defiance of Reeder and his vile myrmidons, and vote at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver.* Neither give nor take quarter, as our case demands it. It is enough that the slaveholding interest wills it, from which there is no appeal. What right has Governor Reeder to rule Missourians in Kansas? His proclamation and prescribed oath must be repudiated. It is your interest to do so. Mind that Slavery is established where it is not prohibited."

"Qualms of conscience as to violating laws, State or National!" No, sir, that will never do! "Such impositions must be disregarded!" "Every election district in Kansas must be entered by one and all," and they must "vote at the point of the bowie-knive and revolver!" Is that the way these border gentlemen pass over the line, according to the Senator from Missouri, "to protect the ballot-boxes against the armed colonists?"

"Qualms of conscience about violating laws, State or National," were given up, and they "entered into every election district in Kansas, in spite of the proclamation of Reeder," and made the election of Whitfield doubly sure. The Senate will remember that the Senator from Missouri assures us that Missourians only crossed the borders to "protect the ballot-boxes against the armed colonists" from the East. Sir, I commend to the especial consideration of the Senator from Missouri the advice of General Stringfellow, to give up all "qualms of conscience as to violating laws, State or National," and to "enter every election district in Kansas." Is that the way Missourians "protect the ballot-boxes over the borders?"

Mr. BUTLER. Allow me to ask the Senator's authority for the remarks of General Stringfellow.

Mr. WILSON. I quote from a speech made by General Stringfellow, published in a Western Missouri paper, republished throughout the country, and never denied by him. General Stringfellow has since said, in a letter to the people of the South, that if the Missourians had gone into Kansas and ruled it once, they could do it again. The men in Western Missouri who were the first to accept the advice of their leader, do not deny these things. They openly proclaim their intentions, and act upon them. Sir, I can respect the frankness of crime, much more than the wriggling efforts, by apology, inuendo, and assertion, to falsify facts and to impeach the innocent.

Mr. BUTLER. I do not intend to deny anything that General Stringfellow assumed to say. I know General Stringfellow very well, and I presume he would stand up to-morrow and face the music. I do not suppose that he would retreat, nor do I deny anything which is imputed to him, except, it may be, the bad taste of the language used in what the Senator has read. [Laughter.] As to his whipping Reeder, everybody knows it. [Laughter.]

Mr. WILSON. Well, sir, I do not wish to contend with the Senator about the taste of this border hero.

I proceed now with the facts. The census of Kansas was taken, by the direction of Governor Reeder, in February, 1855; and then there were eight thousand five hundred inhabitants, and two thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven legal voters, in the Territory. At the ensuing election—on the 30th of March, 1855—four thousand voters from the State of Missouri passed into that Territory, and gave their votes. Lawrence, according to the census, was entitled to less than five hundred votes. But, sir, nine hundred and fifty were cast, although nearly one half the legal voters of Lawrence, if we are to believe the testimony of some of their most respectable citizens, refused to vote on that day. More than eight hundred Missourians, armed to the teeth, led by Colonel Young, a lawyer of Western Missouri, went to Lawrence, the home of the New England men so often assailed and so much misrepresented in the documents before us. Colonel Young made a speech, declaring that he would vote or would shed his blood. He took the precaution, however, to swear in his vote. He had more regard for his life than he had for his conscience.

Mr. YULEE. Will the Senator excuse me for a moment?

Mr. WILSON. Certainly.

Mr. YULEE. I have been listening with much interest to the Senator's remarks, and I desire to ask him, as he proceeds with his statements of fact, to refer us to the authority on which he relies.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, I state what I have said on the authority of Mr. Hutchinson, a lawyer of Lawrence, and a rejected Free State member of the Legislature of Kansas, elected in 1855, and now present in the Senate Chamber—a man, sir, of intelligence, of conscience, and of character. And what he says is confirmed by the memorial of General Pomeroy, to which I have referred, setting forth certain facts which transpired on that day. I will read what this gentleman says in regard to the Lawrence district:

"In the Lawrence district, speeches were made to them by leading residents of Missouri, in which it was said that they would carry their purpose, if need be, at the point of the bayonet and bowie-knife; and one voter was fired at, as he was driven from the election ground. Finding they had a greater force than was necessary for that poll, some two hundred men were drafted from the number, and sent off, under their proper officers, to another district; after which, they still polled from this camp over seven hundred votes."

General Pomeroy says that in the fourth and seventh districts, along the Santa Fe road,

"The invaders came together in one armed and organized body, with trains of fifty wagons, besides horsemen, and, the night before election, pitched their camp in the vicinity of the polls; and, having appointed their own judges in place of those who, from intimidation or otherwise, failed to attend, they voted without any proof of residence. In these two election districts, where the census shows one hundred voters, there were polled three hundred and fourteen votes."

In the Leavenworth district, hundreds of men breakfasted in Missouri, voted in Kansas, and returned on the same day to Missouri. While the voting was going on, one of their leaders made a speech, in which he told the Platte county boys that they must stand aside, and let the Clay county boys vote first, because they had the furthest to go in returning to their homes; and the Platte county boys of Missouri stood aside, and allowed the Clay county boys of Missouri to vote first and go home.

This memorial declares that

"Hundreds of men came together in the sixteenth district, crossing the river from Missouri the day before election, and encamping together, armed and provisioned, made the fiercest threats against the lives of the judges, and during the night called several times at the house of one of them, for the purpose of intimidating him, declaring in the presence of his wife that a rope had been prepared to hang him; and although we are not prepared to say that these threats would have been carried out, yet they served to produce his resignation, and give these invaders, in the substitution, control of the polls; and on the morning of the election, a steamboat brought from the town of Weston, Missouri, to Leavenworth, an accession to their number of several hundred more, who returned in the same boat, after depositing their votes. There were over nine hundred and fifty votes polled, besides from one hundred to one hundred and fifty actual residents who were deterred or discouraged from voting, while the census returns show but three hundred and eighty-five votes in the district a month before. Not less than six hundred votes were here given by these non-residents of the Territory who voted without being sworn as to their qualifications, and, immediately after the election, returned back to Missouri, some of them being the incumbents of important public offices there."

I will now, sir, quote what General Pomeroy says of the election in the eighteenth district; and I ask the attention of the Senator from Missouri to this statement:

"In the eighteenth election district, where the population was sparse, and no great amount of foreign votes was needed to overpower it, a detachment from Missouri, from sixty to one hundred, passed in with a train of wagons, arms and ammunition, making their camp the night before the election near Moorestown, the place of the polls, without even a pretext of residence, and returning immediately to Missouri after their work was done, their leader and captain being a distinguished citizen of Missouri, but late the presiding officer of the Senate of the United States, and who had bowie-knife and revolver belted around him, apparently ready to shed the blood of any man who refused to be enslaved. All these facts we are prepared to establish, if necessary, by proof that would be considered competent in a court of justice."

General Pomeroy expresses the opinion,

"That not less than three thousand votes were given by these armed invaders, who came organized in bands with officers, and arms, and tents, and provisions, and munitions of war, as though they were marching upon a foreign foe, instead of their own unoffending fellow-citizens. Upon the principal road leading into our Territory, and passing several important polls, they numbered not less than twelve hundred men, and one camp alone contained not less than six hundred. They arrived at their several destinations the night before the election, and, having pitched their camps and placed their sentries, waited for the coming day. Baggage-wagons were there, with arms and ammunition enough for a protracted fight, and among them two brass field pieces, ready charged. They came with drums beating and flags flying, and their leaders were of the most prominent and conspicuous men of their State."

How very considerate it was, Mr. President, in these "prominent and conspicuous men," with their baggage-wagons, and cannons, and rifles, and drums, and flying flags, to lead the men of Western Missouri over into the forests and prairies of Kansas, to protect the ballot-boxes from those dangerous men, the armed colonists of New England!

Sir, the gentleman from Connecticut wishes to know why the seats of the legislators elected by the Missourians were not contested. I will tell him: Mr. Phillips, a young lawyer of Leavenworth, not himself a candidate, took measures to have the seat of the member from the sixteenth district contested—and what was the result? He was taken over into Missouri and lynched, because he dared, simply on patriotic grounds, to dispute the right of the member to his seat, into which he had been voted by these armed men from Missouri!

Sir, the whole power and patronage of this Government, from the time when the Kansas and Nebraska act went into operation to this hour, has been given to crush out the freemen of Kansas, and to plant the institution of Slavery upon that virgin soil. Read the papers which support the Administration in that Territory, and what do we find? The *Squatter Sovereign* says:

"We hope the Thirty-fourth Congress will be the last Congress that will ever assemble, and that the Southern men coming into Kansas will be prepared to range Kansas in the Southern Republic."

The paper which made that declaration receives the patronage and support of this law-abiding, liberty-loving, Union-saving Administration, which the Senator from Connecticut is always the most prompt, the first—and about the only—Senator here to support. [Laughter.]

Sir, I have before me an extract from another of those Union-loving, law-abiding organs of the Administration in Kansas, which supports the law-and-order party there, of which we read so much in the correspondence before us. The *Kickapoo Pioneer*—a paper sustained by the friends of this Administration—gives us the following fine specimen of its regard for law and order:

"The South must be up and doing; Kansas must and shall be a slave State. Mark what we say, Southern freemen! Come along with your negroes, and plough up every inch of ground that is at this time disgraced and defaced by an abolition plough. Send the scoundrels back to whence they came, or send them to hell—it matters not which destination; suit your own convenience. Sound the bugle of war over the length and breadth of the land, and leave not an abolitionist in the Territory to relate their treacherous and contaminating deeds. Strike your piercing rifle-balls and your glittering steel to their black and poisonous hearts; let the war-cry never cease in Kansas again, until our Territory is divested of the last vestige of abolitionism."

The paper which utters such sentiments is the supporter of the President, and the organ and supporter of the policy which meets so warmly the approbation of the Senator from Connecticut.

The officers of the United States in the Territory of Kansas—the judges, the district attorney, the secretary, and the marshal—are all Slave State men, and their influence has been given in favor of making Kansas a slave State. Governor Reeder, who undertook to protect the people in their legal rights, was stricken down, under the pretence that he had been speculating in the public lands. Of twenty-one officers of the Federal Government in the Territory, nineteen are Slave State men, and one is a Free State man; but already he is marked by Atchison, and another designated for his place. Within the last ten days, men from Kansas have called upon the Executive to remonstrate against this striking down of a public officer, simply for the crime of being in favor of free institutions.

[At this point the honorable Senator yielded to a motion to adjourn.]

Tuesday, February 19, 1856.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President——

Mr. GEYER. If the Senator from Massachusetts will allow me, I desire, before he proceeds, to ask him a question. I understood him to state yesterday, upon the authority of General Pomeroy, that a former presiding officer of this body (meaning, of course, my late colleague) had entered Kansas Territory for some unlawful purpose, armed with bowie-knives and pistols. I desire first to know whether General Pomeroy states that on his own knowledge; and then, at what time it was that he is supposed to have entered that Territory thus armed? Will the Senator be good enough to answer?

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, I very cheerfully answer the questions submitted to me by the honorable Senator from Missouri. I stated yesterday, on the authority of General Pomeroy, that on the 30th of March, 1855, the late President of the Senate entered the eighteenth election district of the Territory of Kansas, near Moorestown, and that he was armed "with a bowie-knife and revolver around him, apparently ready to shed the blood of any man who refused to be enslaved." And this trustworthy authority adds, "all these facts we are prepared to establish, if necessary, by proof that would be considered competent in any court of justice."

Mr. GEYER. Will the Senator allow me to state my information on that subject?

Mr. WILSON. Certainly, sir.

Mr. GEYER. Mr. President, when that charge was made yesterday, I was not prepared to prove a negative; therefore I did not interrupt the Senator. I have since made inquiries of the Representative in the other House of the district in which General Atchison resides, to ascertain from him whether General Atchison had crossed the borders at that time. He answered, "No; he was not there." I inferred, therefore, that General Pomeroy had given the information upon the authority of some one else, and not of his own knowledge. The only time, so far as I have been able to learn, when General Atchison crossed into Kansas at all during the period of any disturbance there, was the last one which was mentioned in the report read before the Senate yesterday. At that time it was apprehended there would be a serious collision and much destruction of life between those who had collected at Wakarusa and the citizens of Lawrence. At that time General Atchison, together with some two or three other gentlemen—his neighbors—went over for the purpose of persuading those at Wakarusa to forbearance. He counselled peace. That was his errand at that time in the Territory. So much was he indisposed to any collision between the citizens of Missouri, or those who are represented to have been citizens of Missouri, and the inhabitants of Lawrence, that he left his home for the purpose of interposing as a peace-maker. Afterwards, it is true—after the pacification had taken place, as mentioned in the report, and he was about to return home—there was a gallant captain of mounted men at Lawrence who proposed to proseed and capture him. He was, to the credit of the commanding officer at Lawrence, restrained from doing so. That is the only instance within my knowledge, and so far as I have been able to ascertain from the Representative of his district, when General Atchison crossed the border at all.

Mr. WILSON. I place, sir, the written declaration of General Pomeroy, a gentleman thoroughly conversant with affairs in Kansas, and a gentleman of the strictest veracity, against the statement of the Senator from Missouri. The facts stated in this memorial, drawn up by General Pomeroy, have been published to the world, and never to my knowledge questioned before. That General Atchison entered Kansas at that election, I do not entertain the shadow of a doubt. That it can be clearly established by persons of veracity and character, I am assured by gentlemen now in this city from Kansas.

Sir, I do not wish to do injustice to the gentleman who so recently filled your chair. When Congress assembled, in December, 1854, he was not here; and you, sir, were placed in the seat which the Senate had assigned to him. He came here afterwards, spent a few weeks, and about the 1st of February left the capital for his home in Western Missouri, with the avowal that he went to look after affairs in Kansas, and to organize for the election to take place on the 30th of March. General Atchison was the organizing, moving spirit of that Missouri movement from which all of these unlawful transactions have originated.

I congratulate the Senate and the country, that the honorable Senator from Missouri is sensitive in regard to the position of General Atchison. It is now admitted that there was an unlawful invasion of Kansas by excited and armed men, and that the late President of the Senate left his home in Western Missouri, and passed over into Kansas, and used his personal influence with these men he had once organized, to prevent their imbruing their hands in the blood of the people of Kansas, and making Lawrence a heap of ruins. I congratulate the Senate and the country, that the Senator from Missouri has made the statement to which we have listened. I hope it will go forth to the country, that the late President of the Senate went over to Kansas, not to aid Shannon in executing the laws, but to restrain the men who were threatening Lawrence with swift destruction.

When I yielded the floor yesterday for an adjournment, I was speaking of the election of the 30th of March, 1855. The result of that election was, that the nineteen districts in Kansas were carried by the Pro-Slavery party, and that more than six thousand votes were given in that Territory, where, thirty days before, there were less than three thousand voters.

The question was put yesterday by the honorable Senator from Connecticut, why the Governor gave certificates of election on that occasion? I will simply say, that Governor Reeder, in the cases brought before him, did refuse to deliver the certificates; that he made the refusal in the presence of the men who claimed them, with bowie-knives and revolvers in their belts, and amidst threats of his life; and while he read the statement he held a cocked revolver in his hand, for necessary self-defence. There were a few devoted friends around him, expecting to see him murdered on that occasion. In the cases not at the time contested, in the cases where at the time no one dared to raise a question, in the cases where at the time a contest was neglected, the certificates were given. A new election was ordered in those cases where the certificates were set aside, and, in pursuance thereof, the people elected Representatives and Councillors, and commissions were issued to them. They met on the 2d day of July, at Pawnee, and both branches of the Legislature, without examining the facts, and positively refusing to do so, voted out the men chosen by the people of Kansas, and voted in the men originally chosen by the Missouri invaders. This Legislature, thus chosen, moved the place of meeting from Pawnee to Shawnee Mission, against the consent of the Governor, who refused afterwards to recognise it as a Legislature. They went on, and passed the laws which are now brought here. Some of those laws are as inhuman as any code ever presented for the government of a conquered people.

I wish to call the attention of the Senate and of the country to some of those laws forced upon the people who were allured to Kansas by the assurance that they were empowered to shape their own institutions. Here is a precious enactment:

"If any person print, write, introduce into, or publish, or circulate, or cause to be brought into, printed, written, published, or circulated, or shall knowingly aid or assist in bringing into, printing, publishing, or circulating, within this Territory, any book, paper, pamphlet, magazine, handbill, or circular, containing any statements, arguments, opinion, sentiment, doctrine, advice, or inuendo, calculated to produce a disorderly, dangerous, or rebellious disaffection among the slaves of this Territory, or to induce such slaves to escape from the service of their masters, or to resist their authority, shall be guilty of a felony, and be punished by imprisonment, at hard labor, for a term not less than five years."

This law, thus enacted, is the law that is to be executed in Kansas, if need be, by the sabres of the United States dragoons. If the men from the free States in that Territory should print or circulate this sentiment, uttered by the President of the United States, on the 1st day of January, 1851, in the Constitutional Convention of New Hampshire—

—"I would take the ground of the non-extension of Slavery, that Slavery should not become stronger." "What one thing is there connected with Slavery that is not obnoxious?"—

I say that, if these avowals were circulated in that Territory, the person circulating them might be denounced as circulating a speech that was calculated to excite disaffection among men held in bondage.

If a slaveholder should find in the hand of some one of his bondmen, who may have been taught, in spite of legal prohibitions, to read the ten commandments, the pregnant question of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic, "What one thing is there connected with Slavery that is not obnoxious?" Would he not think it at least a dangerous "inuendo," calculated to create "disaffection" in the bosom of his slave? And, sir, if in his wrath he should make the discovery that a son of the Granite State had "caused to be circulated" this sentiment of the prominent son of his native New Hampshire, would he not try the virtues to be found in the term of five years' imprisonment? If some slaveholder should find in the hand of his fleeing bondman the speech of the Attorney General of the United States, delivered in June, 1836, against the admission of Arkansas, with a Constitution making Slavery perpetual, wherein I find these sentiments—"I do not persuade myself that Liberty is an evil, or Slavery a blessing." "Shall we be brutishly dumb when it is sought through us to render Slavery perpetual in new States?" "I should be false to all the opinions and principles of my life, if I did not promptly return a peremptory and emphatic No! when called upon to accord my sanction to a form of government which perpetuates Slavery." Would not the slaveholder deem it a "fixed fact," that the man who circulated these sentiments was "guilty of a felony," punishable with five years of imprisonment? Ay, sir, if some son of Massachusetts should be found circulating the resolutions of the Democratic State Convention in 1849, written by Benjamin F. Hallett, then Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, and now the President's District Attorney for Massachusetts, declaring that "we are opposed to Slavery in every form and color, and in favor of Freedom and free soil wherever man lives throughout God's heritage"—a pretty broad declaration, that includes Kansas—I say, that if these resolutions, endorsed by Charles G. Greene, the especial favorite of the President in New England, as National Democratic doctrine, should be circulated in Kansas by some son of Massachusetts, he would be subjected to the punishment provided for in this section.

Here is another section of this inhuman statute:

"If any free person, by speaking or writing, assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall introduce into this Territory, print, publish, write, circulate, or cause to be introduced into this Territory, written, printed, published, or circulated, in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular, containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory, such person shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term not less than two years."

Here is a law which punishes any freeman as a felon who went into that Territory under your organic law—under your "squatter sovereignty" doctrine—with two years' imprisonment, if he shall circulate any paper that shall "deny the right of any person to hold slaves in the Territory under these laws;" and this is the law which the President of the United States is so anxious to enforce; and this is the law which the Senator from Connecticut congratulates the country is to be enforced!

And, sir, if any person shall be arrested by Governor Shannon for circulating in Kansas any papers denying the right of any person to hold slaves there, this code provides that

"No person who is conscientiously opposed to holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, shall sit as a juror on the trial of any prosecution for any violation of any of the sections of this act."

When the Legislature assembled, when it turned out the men who had been legally chosen, when it brought in the men imposed on the Territory by armed invaders from a neighboring State, when it removed to the Shawnee Mission, when it was repudiated by your Governor, sent there by this Administration, then it was that the freemen of Kansas assembled in their primary meetings, and declared against the legality of this Legislature and its acts. A Convention of the People was called. That Convention assembled, framed a Constitution, the People ratified it, and that Constitution is now submitted for the action of the Congress of the United States. The Senator from Connecticut denounces it as a "spurious Convention." Sir, this Convention was the act of the People of Kansas, in their sovereign primary capacity. They accepted the doctrine of squatter sovereignty. They accepted the doctrines laid down by Madison, by Marshall, by Story, by Judge Wilson, by Buchanan and Wright, and the chiefs of the Democratic party in the days when the Democratic party paid some little regard to the principles of popular government.

Sir, the Senator from Connecticut denounced this act of the People as a "spurious Convention." In 1836, the freemen of Michigan, disregarding the action of their Legislature, came together in their primary capacity, framed a Constitution, sent that Constitution to Congress, and that Constitution was carried through the Senate by the votes of Benton, Buchanan, Wright, and the chiefs of the Democratic party; but that was in the days of Andrew Jackson, when it was supposed the people of this country had retained the rights guarantied to them by the fundamental laws of the country. Sir, Andrew Jackson did not denounce the movement as an insurrectionary one, although they refused to receive the officer whom he sent to them. The Congress of that day did not denounce those men as traitors to the country, as the men of Kansas are denounced in the documents before us, ten thousand extra copies of which we are asked to publish. No, sir, no! This is the first time in the history of this country, when the People have assembled in their primary capacity, and exercised their right, their inborn, natural right, to change their Government at their pleasure, and then been held up as traitors by the Government of the country.

Sir, the Democracy in both branches of Congress sustained the doctrines maintained by the suffrage party in Rhode Island; and it so happens that when Governor Dorr took refuge in the old Granite State, among the first who recognised the doctrines which he maintained, was the man who is Chief Magistrate of the United States, and who now denounces the freemen of Kansas, and holds up to the country as violators of the law, men who are, on the 4th of March next, to be arrested if they dare assemble in their legislative capacity, and choose two United States Senators to come and implore us to receive Kansas into this sisterhood of States, and thus save this fair Territory from bloodshed and ruin. Yes, sir, this man, who now characterizes as "revolutionary" what has already been done by the people of Kansas, and warns them that further action "will become treasonable insurrection," welcomed Governor Dorr to the capital of New Hampshire, on the 14th of December, 1842, in a series of resolutions declaring, that "when the people act in their original sovereign capacity, they are not bound to conform to forms not instituted by themselves;" that "the day of free Government would never dawn upon the eyes of oppressed millions," "if the friends of Liberty should wait for leave from tyrants to abolish tyranny."

Sir, in pursuing this history, I have followed the order of time, and I am now brought to speak of another invasion from Missouri—an invasion which took place on the 1st of October last, when General Whitfield was elected. I state here, on the authority of gentlemen, some half dozen of whom are within the sound of my voice, and who will prove it under oath before your committee, if you will permit them to do so, that hundreds of men went over from Missouri and voted in that election.

The invasion—the fourth invasion of which we have heard so much in these papers from the Executive Department—grew out of the cold-blooded murder of a man by the name of Dow, at Hickory Point, by one Coleman. Mr. Branson and his neighbors took the mortal remains of the murdered Dow from the highway, where he had lain for hours, and consigned them to his last resting-place. The murderer has never been tried or arrested. Branson, with whom Dow had lived, was arrested on a peace-warrant, by Sheriff Jones, and rescued by some fifteen of his neighbors and friends. Then it was that the stories were manufactured, that a thousand men were organized at Lawrence, armed with Sharpe's rifles and cannon, ready to resist the authorities. There were not then more than three hundred Sharpe's rifles in Lawrence, and not one cannon. There was no armed soldiery in Lawrence when these charges were made; there were armed men there, but they were not embodied. Of the men who aided in the rescue of Branson—an act which might take place in any State, at any time, without any Governor thinking of calling out the armed militia, much less the forces of the United States—only two ever lived in Lawrence, and they were not in Lawrence at that time. The reports mentioned in these dispatches, about burning buildings, have turned out to be exaggerated and misrepresented.

On the strength of these reports, however, Governor Shannon sent his letter of the 28th of November to the President, and on the next day he issued that fatal proclamation which fomented, at the time, the invasion from Missouri, and this was followed by his telegraphic dispatch of the 1st of December. Here let me say, that in this letter, proclamation, and dispatch, Governor Shannon shows that he is not a man who comprehends his position or his duties. He was excited and frightened by the reports and rumors he relied upon. During this period, when he ordered out the militia and telegraphed the President, dispatches, founded on rumors, were sent into Missouri; and the result was, that from one thousand to two thousand armed men came from Missouri into Kansas; and they were incorporated into that "little force of less than four hundred men," spoken of in these dispatches from Kansas, which rallied to the call of the officers of the militia! Sir, if the people of Kansas had been with the Governor—if they had sympathized with him in his ill-starred movements—if they had believed that law and order were in danger—would they not have rallied to his support? On that occasion, the arsenal of the United States in Western Missouri was broken open; arms were stolen and carried into Kansas. Nothing is said about this robbery in these reports. Missourians broke open this arsenal, and stole cannon, ammunition, and muskets, for the purpose of going on a marauding invasion; and the late President of the Senate was compelled—so great was the danger—to hasten after them, to keep them from hurting somebody! Yet, not a word is said about it in these dispatches! Sir, if the freemen of Kansas had broken open that arsenal, and had stolen even a gun-flint, you would have had a proclamation from your Governor and your President, and the army of the United States would have been called out to put them down. But it was the organized men of the Blue Lodges in Western Missouri who did it. They have been, and now are, permitted to violate all law with impunity. Woodson, the Secretary of Kansas, urged on these lawless men from Missouri, by assuring them that "there is no doubt in regard to having a fight; and if we are defeated this time, the Territory is lost to the South."

The invading hosts from Missouri encamped on the Wakarusa, within about six miles of beleaguered Lawrence. In marked contrast to the inconsiderate folly of Shannon, was the prudent, firm, and heroic bearing of General Robinson. Throughout the whole contest, his prudence was signally manifested; and, in the opinion of many, the country was saved from bloodshed and civil war by his action. On the 7th of December, your Governor tells you he went to Lawrence; but he does not tell you the whole story. He did go to Lawrence, and he met the Lawrence men, and the Lawrence women, too; and he saw the inflexible determination of the one, and the calm devotion of the other. He told gentlemen who directed the affairs of Lawrence, that they had been misrepresented—that they misunderstood each other; and then, after two days of conference and negotiation, he made a treaty. The first sentence of the treaty acknowledges that the Governor and the people of Lawrence had not understood each other. Here is a man who asked the President for the army of the United States; who ordered out the militia, and incorporates into the militia of Kansas, by the showing of these papers, from one thousand to fifteen hundred Missourians; and then, after doing this, he went to Lawrence—and what did he find? People who flew to arms simply to protect their homes and their firesides against an armed invasion of two thousand men, who were threatening, with oaths, to burn their city, and to blot them out from existence. I say, Governor Shannon made a treaty with General Lane, (known to some Senators here,) and with General Robinson—a man who, I hope, is hereafter to be known to Senators—and this treaty closes with the agreement, on the part of Governor Shannon, that he "will use his influence to secure to the citizens of Kansas remuneration for any damages sustained by the sheriff's posse in Douglas county; that he has not called upon persons residents of any other States to aid in the execution of the laws; and that he has not any authority or legal power to do so, nor will he exercise any such power; and that he will not call on any citizen of another State who may be here." In these negotiations he agreed to waive the question of the validity of the laws of the Territorial Legislature. Then he issued an order to Lane and Robinson to incorporate into the service of Kansas the militia of Lawrence, and directed them "to use the enrolled force for the preservation of the peace, and the protection of Lawrence and vicinity" against the armed men on the banks of the Wakarusa.

Mr. President, this treaty, which Shannon signed, with Lane and Robinson, on Sunday, the 9th of December, 1855, will stand a perpetual confession of his incapacity and folly; this order, giving Lane and Robinson authority "to use the enrolled force"—with those famed Sharpe's rifles—"for the preservation of peace, and the protection of Lawrence and vicinity" against the armed bands his fatal proclamation had summoned, will stand a living testimony that the men of Lawrence were the guardians of law. Yes, sir, that treaty and that order will stand an eternal expression, at once of error and repentance.

After signing those evidences of his own humiliation, he returned to the camp on the Wakarusa, and then, to the leaders of the crew he had drawn together, proclaimed his truce with the men of Lawrence. Back to their homes in Missouri sauntered these baffled bands of lawless desperadoes, cold, sullen, dispirited. They came to the banks of the Wakarusa, big with threats of vengeance upon the Free State men of Lawrence; they returned with bitter curses upon the imbecile Governor, whose proclamation had drawn them from their homes. General Stringfellow, whose pure taste the Senator from South Carolina can vouch for, denounced the treachery of Shannon. Captain Leonard, the leader of one of these gangs of border banditti, through the columns of the St. Joseph *Gazette*, declares that your Governor "raises a storm, and then to quell it, Judas-like, professes his special friendship, first for one party, and then, I conjecture, for the other. But, however this may be, he descends to the despicable position of a common liar, both to the one party and the other."

You may search the records of the country, from the settlement at Jamestown to this day, and you can find no instance of such incapacity, folly, and superadded criminality, as Wilson Shannon displayed on that occasion; or such an utter disregard of the rights of the people as was manifested by the border settlers of Missouri. I commend to the consideration of the Senator from Missouri these pregnant questions of the St. Louis *Democrat*, a paper published at his own home:

"What right had these hordes of border banditti to invade the soil of that Territory, and enlist themselves in support of Governor Shannon? What business had they there? What law or what precedent would justify their interference in the affairs of a free and sovereign Territory? What right had Governor Shannon and Stringfellow to invite, encourage, or countenance their presence in arms, in a Commonwealth of which they were not citizens? Was there ever a more glaring inconsistency, or a more glaring outrage, than that by which Shannon and his minions have sought to overawe and crush a portion of the people of Kansas, by introducing a gang of lawless desperadoes upon their soil, armed to the teeth with weapons obtained by breaking open a United States arsenal? Has the civilized world ever known a more disgraceful, barbarous, and savage spectacle?"

This Administration has now clothed Wilson Shannon—whose incompetency has been made manifest to the world—with the civil and military authority, and with all the power of the Government to execute the laws, and to maintain order in the Territory. The duties assigned this officer, in the present critical condition of affairs on your frontiers, are of the gravest and most weighty character. Sir, your Administration—by the wanton repeal of the Missouri prohibition, by the failure to protect the actual residents of Kansas in their rights, and by the blundering acts and criminal remissness of the official authorities—has brought the nation to the perilous edge of civil strife. Sir, this Administration owes it to the country, whose peace is in danger this day, to intrust the responsible and delicate duties of Governor of Kansas to a prudent, judicious, sagacious statesman—a man of individual honor and personal character, in whom the people can place the fullest confidence. Wilson Shannon is not that man. The man who could descend to degrading companionship around the gaming tables of those saloons of San Francisco, (described by that experienced traveller, Madame Ida Pfeiffer, as the most dissolute she had ever seen in her tour of the globe,) with Mexican greasers, the escaped convicts of the British penal colonies, and the desperadoes of the Old World and the New—the man who could, while Kansas was overrun by armed bands, summoned around Lawrence by his own reckless letters, dispatches, and proclamations, while civil war lowered over the people intrusted to his care—while an honored citizen, stricken down by the assassin, lay cold in death, and a devoted wife was weeping over his mortal remains, make himself the humiliating object of the derision of his enemies, and of the pity of his friends, by an exhibition of gross intoxication—is not the man to whom the American people would intrust the affairs of Kansas.

I call the attention of the Senate, Mr. President, to another foray over the borders—to the fifth Missouri invasion. I mean the irruption into Kansas on the 15th of December, when the people were called upon to vote upon the Constitution framed by that Convention the Senator from Connecticut is pleased to pronounce "spurious." Along the Missouri border, the people in several of the voting precincts were overawed by threats of impending violence, and meetings were not holden. At Leavenworth, the election was broken up by the lawless brutality of men, many of whom had been ordered to Leavenworth on that day, to be formally discharged from service in the Kansas militia, into which they had been incorporated. At the dinner hour, while most of the people were absent from the polls, these "border ruffians" rushed upon the officers, broke up the meeting, beat to the earth Witherell, the clerk, whose life was saved by the heroic daring of Brown, since foully murdered, who rushed to his rescue at a moment when the uplifted axe of the assassin was about to descend upon his prostrate form.

On the 22d of December, another foray was made upon freedom at Leavenworth, and the press of Mr. Delahay, which barely escaped on the 15th, was destroyed. Mr. Delahay is a native of Maryland, and has been a slaveholder in his native State, in Alabama, and in Missouri; a man who has little sympathy with Anti-Slavery men. He is simply one of those moderate, conservative men, who believe that "free labor is honorable, and slave labor is dishonorable," and that the permanent interests of Kansas would be promoted by making it a free Commonwealth.

On the 15th of January, the people of Kansas were called upon to elect officers under the Constitution adopted on the 15th of December. Another assault upon the freedom of the ballot-box was made at Easton, by armed men. The people attempted to resist the destruction of the ballot-boxes by these marauding squads that were prowling over the country, insulting the people, and robbing them of their means of defence. Peaceable, law-abiding citizens were hunted down, fired upon, and their lives put in imminent peril. Some of them had to flee to Lawrence, as to a city of refuge, to save themselves from the vengeance of the prowling assassins. A party of these lawless desperadoes captured Mr. Brown—who so bravely rescued Witherell at Leavenworth—and several others, robbed them of their arms, and then, with hatchets and knives, they fiendishly hacked and cut Brown to pieces, flung him in a dying condition into a carriage, and bore him to his home, to breathe out his life in the arms of his distracted wife, another sacrifice to the dark spirit of slave propagandism.

To-day, sir, unless they are on their march, there is arming and organizing in Western Missouri, in the Blue Lodges, in the secret camps, hosts of men for another invasion. Sleepless eyes are upon these movements, organized by Atchison and his subalterns. General Lane and General Robinson sent to the President, on the 21st of January, a telegraphic dispatch. Colonel Lane—a man who trod the battle-field of Buena Vista—a man who knows something of what war is, who knows something of the threats that have been made, and the preparations that are now making, on the borders of Western Missouri, for another lawless invasion of Kansas—has appealed to the President for protection. He is no fanatic. Sir, you cannot call him an Abolitionist, at least not yet.

Mr. HALE. He will be one soon.

Mr. WILSON. The Senator from New Hampshire says he will be one soon. The scenes through which he is passing are calculated to abolitionize men made of the hardest natures. John Quincy Adams once said that a man "has the right to be an Abolitionist, and in being an Abolitionist he violates no law, human or divine." General Lane may be an Abolitionist; but, sir, he is not one now. On the 21st of January he asked the President to send the military force stationed at Fort Leavenworth to protect the people of Kansas against an invasion which is "organizing on our border, amply supplied with artillery, for the avowed purpose of invading our Territory, demolishing our towns, and butchering our unoffending Free State citizens."

Two days after, on January 23d, General Lane and General Robinson asked the President to issue his proclamation forbidding this lawless invasion of their Territory. The Senator from Connecticut flatters himself that those of us who do not approve the course of the Administration will be greatly disappointed to find that the leaders of the Free State movement in Kansas have implored the Executive to issue his proclamation. Let not the Senator from Connecticut lay the flattering unction to his soul, that we are chagrined by the disclosure of this correspondence. Robinson and Lane, in behalf of the imperilled people of Kansas, asked the President to issue "his proclamation immediately forbidding the invasion, which, if carried out as planned, will stand forth without a parallel in the world's history." They did not ask the President for his proclamation against the wronged and oppressed people of Kansas. They asked for bread—the President gave them a stone. They asked for a fish—the President gave them a serpent.

The President, sir, has issued his proclamation, but that proclamation is chiefly and mainly directed against Lane and Robinson, and the liberty-loving, law-abiding Free State men of Kansas. Like his annual message, in which he softly spoke of the long series of outrages you will scarcely find paralleled in the history of Christian States, as "irregularities"—like that special message in which the aggressive acts of the Missouri invaders were covered over with mild and honeyed phrases, and the defensive measures of the actual settlers treated as insurrectionary acts, demanding Executive censure, this proclamation will be received on the Western borders by the men who, by their votes and by their resolves, have dictated law to Kansas, with shouts of approval. Sir, this proclamation will carry no terror into the Blue Lodges and secret clubs of Western Missouri.

But, sir, we were congratulated yesterday by the Senator from Connecticut, that the laws were to be executed and order preserved. I call the attention of the Senate and of the country to the order of the Secretary of War. What does this order say to Colonel Sumner? Does it clearly and expressly command him to arrest, at all hazards, any aggressive movement upon Kansas, from Missouri? The Secretary of War informs Colonel Sumner that

"The President has, by proclamation, warned all persons combined for *insurrection or invasive aggression* against the organized Government of the Territory of Kansas, or associated to resist the due execution of the laws therein, to abstain from such revolutionary and lawless proceedings."

Does the Secretary, then, direct Colonel Sumner to defend Kansas against "invasive aggression?" No, sir, no! The Secretary then issues the orders of the Government to Colonel Sumner in these terms:

"If, therefore, the Governor of the Territory, finding the ordinary course of judicial proceeding and the powers vested in the United States marshals inadequate for the suppression of *insurrectionary combinations* or *armed resistance to the execution of the law*, should make requisition upon you to furnish a military force to aid him in the performance of that official duty, you are hereby directed to employ for that purpose the forces under your command."

Sir, this is not a direction to Colonel Sumner to use his forces against the armed Missouri invaders. The Secretary tells the Colonel that the President has sent out his proclamation against those movements; but when he comes to direct the commander of the force of the United States what to do, he does not order him to use that force, if there shall be an invasion from the State of Missouri. The Secretary shrinks from putting himself against the lawless men who represent a Power in this country that sustains them in their aggressive acts. Sir, the Secretary bends to that Power; he bows to these men who have no "qualms of conscience as to violating laws, State or National;" and we have had nothing but bows to these men for the last eighteen months, from the other end of the avenue.

The reason why the Government has not used its proper legitimate influences in Kansas, for peace, for order, and for liberty, is the same reason which originally snatched that four hundred and fifty thousand square miles of free soil—consecrated forever to the laboring millions of this country—and flung it open to the slave-extending interests.

Sir, I know that men in the confidence of the Administration have expressed the idea that the Administration intends, if the People's Legislature meets on the 4th of March, to arrest the members the moment they take the oaths of office. It is a well-known fact, sir—known by those who know anything about affairs in Kansas—that they do not intend to pass laws, or interfere in any way with the legislation of the country; that they intend merely to assemble, state their grievances to the country, and choose Senators to come here, to implore us, in God's name, to carry out the wishes of the people, and allow Kansas to take her place in this Union of free Commonwealths. I understand these to be the intentions of the tried and trusted leaders of the Free State men in Kansas. You may arrest Governor Robinson and the leaders of the Free State party; you may imprison them if you will; you may shed the blood of the actual settlers of Kansas; but you cannot break their spirits, or crush out their hopes. The people of Kansas are for a free State; and if it is made a slave State, it will be by the criminal remissness or direct interposition of this Administration. Leave the people of Kansas free, uninfluenced by your Slave State officials you have thrust upon them, uninfluenced by foreign interposition, and they will bring her here clothed in the white robes of Freedom.

The Senator from Missouri said to us the other day, that the colonists from the East wished to keep others out; that they wished to get possession of the Territory. Armed men, he said, had crossed from Missouri to protect the ballot-boxes against the armed colonists sent there by the Emigrant Aid Society! Did they protect the ballot-boxes on the 29th of November, 1854, when they went over and gave fifteen hundred votes? Did they protect the ballot-boxes when they marched into Kansas on the 30th of March, with cannon, with revolver, and with rifle, displaced the election of officers, and delivered their hundreds of votes, and, in a place where there were but fifty-three voters, casting over six hundred? Did they protect the ballot-boxes when they went there on the 15th of December, and broke up the meeting at Leavenworth? Did they protect the ballot-boxes on the 15th of January, when Brown was murdered in revenge for standing by the ballot-boxes, and protecting it against them?

Sir, men aided to go there by the Emigrant Aid Society have never—no, sir, never—at any time, or on any occasion, interfered with the freedom of voting.

"Whatever record leaps to light,
They never can be shamed."

Sir, I see that in the South there are movements from all quarters to get up Emigrant Aid Societies. The Senator from Mississippi, [Mr. Brown,] always frank and manly on these questions, proposes that Mississippi shall send three hundred of her young men and three hundred of her bondmen into that Territory, to plan and shape its future. I say to the honorable Senator from Mississippi, send your Mississippi young men and your Mississippi bondmen; you will never find on the part of the men who went there from the North, under the auspices of Emigrant Aid Societies, one single unlawful act to keep you out or rob you of one of your lawful rights. The men who charge the emigrants from the North with aggressions upon the men of other sections of the country, utter that which has not the shadow of an element of truth in it; and they know it, or they are grossly ignorant of Kansas affairs. This proposition of the Senator from Mississippi was followed by a letter from a Representative from South Carolina, [Mr. Brooks,] offering to give $100—one dollar for every man they will send from his section. I say to the Senators from South Carolina, that if the offer of their colleague in the other House is accepted, and if the hundred men go from South Carolina to Kansas, they will never be interfered with in the exercise of their legal rights, by the men who have gone there from New England or from the North.

Atchison, the organizer and chief of those border movements, thus appeals to the citizens of Georgia to come to the rescue, for "KANSAS MUST HAVE SLAVE INSTITUTIONS, OR MISSOURI MUST HAVE FREE INSTITUTIONS."

He continues:

"Let your young men come forth to Missouri and Kansas. Let them come well armed, and with money enough to support them for twelve months and determined to see this thing out. I do not see how we are to avoid civil war. Come it will. Twelve months will not elapse before war, civil war, of the fiercest kind, will be upon us. We are arming and preparing for it; indeed, we of the border counties are prepared. We must have the support of the South. We are fighting the battles of the South. Our *institutions are at stake*. We want men—armed men. We want money. Let your young men come on in squads, as fast as they can be raised, *well armed*."

Atchison's Lieutenant, Stringfellow, calls upon the South to come to the aid of Missourians who have dictated law to Kansas, and "can do it again." The Mobile *News* assures the South that Atchison, Stringfellow, and their lawless followers, "have been the only means, *under God*, of teaching such miscreants as the editor of the Missouri *Democrat* and his Lawrence friends, that the way to the abolitionizing of Missouri and Kansas is a road of reddest blood for them 'to travel.'"

Sir, to appease the unhallowed desires of the Slave Propaganda, you complied with Atchison's demands, and repealed the Missouri Prohibition. You then told the laboring men of the Republic, whose heritage you thus put in peril, that they could shape, mould, and fashion, the institutions of those future Commonwealths. Animated by motives as pure and aims as lofty as ever actuated the founders of any portion of the Globe, the sons of the North wended their way to this region beyond the Mississippi. These emigrants did not all go there under the auspices of Emigrant Aid Societies, for it is estimated that not more than one-fourth of the settlers of Kansas are from New England and New York; that nearly one-half of the dwellers in that Territory are from Pennsylvania and the Northwest.

Only about one-fourth of the actual residents of Kansas are from the slaveholding States, and many of these settlers from the South, perhaps a majority of them, are in favor of making Kansas a free State. That many of these emigrants from the South are in favor of rearing free institutions, will surprise no one who understands their condition. Most of these emigrants are poor men, and have felt in their native homes the malign influences which bear with oppressive force upon free labor. Thirty-five per cent. of the emigration of the slave States has sought homes in the free States, while less than ten per cent. of the emigration from the free States and from the old world find homes in the slave States, although those States embrace the largest as well as the fairest regions of the country east of the Rocky Mountains.

Coming from fields blasted by the sweat of artless, untutored, unpaid labor—from regions once teeming with the products of a prolific soil, now "exhibiting," to quote the language applied "with sorrow" to his native country, by the Senator from Alabama, [Mr. Clay,] "the painful signs of senility and decay, apparent in Virginia and the Carolinas"—witnessing the prosperity of free, educated labor, many of these sons of the South meet the men of the North, and stand with them, shoulder to shoulder, in upholding the institutions of Freedom.

Within the Territory, the men of the North and the men of the South meet together in council. Northern and Southern men stood side by side in those assemblages of the people that put the brand of condemnation upon the acts of the Legislature imposed upon them. Northern and Southern men sat in council in that Constitutional Convention the Senator from Connecticut now pronounces "spurious," and Northern and Southern men stood side by side in the trenches of beleaguered Lawrence.

Leave these men now in Kansas, free from Missouri forays and Administration corruption, and in spite of the inhuman, unchristian, and devilish acts to be found in the past legislation of the Territory, they will bring Kansas here as they have done already, robed in the garments of Freedom. Men of the South, you who would blast the virgin soil of Kansas with the blighting, withering, consuming curse of Slavery—you, who would banish the educated, self-dependent, free laboring men of the North, to make room for the untutored thriftless, dependent bondmen of the South—vote down the Free State men of Kansas, if you can; but do not send "border ruffians" to rob or burn their humble dwellings, and murder brave men for the crime of fidelity to their cherished convictions.

GEORGIA AND KANSAS.

In the House of Representatives of Georgia, last week, there was under consideration a bill to promote the settlement of the Territories of the United States. It proposes to appropriate fifty thousand dollars to aid companies agreeing to emigrate to and settle in Kansas; fifty dollars per head is to be paid to each destitute emigrant; and the amount expended under the bill to be reimbursed to the State treasury by a special tax on slaves.

During the debate, one of the members who opposed the measure said that, although he would not deny the right of Georgia to aid in this manner the settlement of Kansas, yet he deemed the whole procedure unwise and impolitic, as the South had endorsed the principle of non-intervention. Another member was so zealous in the cause, that he offered a substitute, "authorizing the Governor to raise one million of dollars by the sale of State bonds, the amount thus raised to be vested in Kansas lands, and to effect which a commissioner be appointed to proceed to Kansas and make the purchase." The substitute was lost. Another believed African Slavery to be essential to the preservation of republican principles. Some very sombre pictures of the present and the future were presented. One gentleman who opposed the bill was not willing to send from its borders "the very bulwarks and ramparts of the State." "Sir, (said he,) the times are gloomy. Empires, and kingdoms, and principalities, seem to part in sunder, and the universal heart of man trembles for fear." The discussion was closed by an urgent appeal from a member who was so zealous in the cause as to assert that, if his county should object to her share of the tax, he would pay it out of his own pocket. "I maintain (he said) that it is our duty to sustain the gallant State of Missouri; she is not fighting her own battles, but the battles of the South and her institutions. Men can be found to go to Cuba; men were found to aid Texas. Shall we of the South behold a sister State bravely contending for our rights, and suffer her to stand in the breach and breast the waves alone, unaided and unheard?" The bill, however, was finally rejected by a vote of 43 to 63.

We have referred to this simply to show the character of the excitement on the subject of Kansas. Georgia is now probably one of the most prosperous States in the Union. She is extending her improvements in every direction, and building up manufactories most profitably in her principal cities, and yet she is full of trouble about a distant Territory, and some of her sons refuse to be comforted.—*Nat. Intel.*

Maryland Senator.—The *Baltimore American* contains the following particulars relative to the election on Thursday, 14th, of a new Senator in Congress from the State of Maryland:

"The election of Anthony Kennedy, Esq., as United States Senator for Maryland, in the place of Hon. Thomas G. Pratt, whose term expires on the 4th of March, 1857, took place yesterday. The vote stood—Kennedy 62, Pratt 1, blank 12; total votes cast 75, of which Mr. Kennedy had a majority of 49. As the Senate consists of twenty-two members, and the House of 74, twenty-one members were absent or did not vote. Had the total vote been cast, Mr. Kennedy would have been elected by thirty-two majority."

Consolidation of the Atlas and Argus.—*Albany, Feb. 17.*—Mr. Johnson, of the Albany *Argus*, yesterday sold his interest in that establishment to his partner, Mr. Comstrock, and Mr. Van Dyke disposed of his share of the *Atlas* to Mr. Cassidy, an arrangement having been made for the consolidation of the two journals. The first number of the Albany *Atlas and Argus*, under the management of Messrs. Comstock and Cassidy, will appear on Monday, February 18. It will be a morning paper.

The following table of the number of pounds to the bushel may be of interest to farmers and dealers: Of wheat, 60 pounds; of shelled corn, 56 pounds; of corn in the cob, 70 pounds; of rye, 56 pounds; of oats, 36 pounds; of barley, 48 pounds; of potatoes, 60 pounds; of beans, 60 pounds; of bran, 20 pounds; of clover seed, 60 pounds; of timothy seed, 45 pounds; of flax seed, 58 pounds; of hemp seed, 44 pounds; of blue-grass seed, 15 pounds; of castor beans, 46 pounds; of dried peaches, 38 pounds; of dried apples, 24 pounds; of onions, 57 pounds.